TOWARDS A GRAMMAR OF INNU-AIMUN PARTICLES

WILL OXFORD

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by

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ABSTRACT

In Algonquian linguistics, indeclinable particles are traditionally treated as a single class. Although this approach is morphologically accurate, it obscures the fact that particles serve a wide variety of grammatical functions. This thesis examines the particles of Innu-aimun, an Algonquian language spoken in Labrador and Quebec. Based on a detailed grammatical analysis, particles are classified into the following more specific part-of-speech categories: adnominal particles (adjectives and quantifiers), prepositions, adverbs, focus particles, question particles, negators, conjunctions, and interjections. The grammatical properties that distinguish each class are described and analyzed. The declinable categories of pronouns, demonstratives, and locative-inflected nouns, which have certain properties in common with particles, are also discussed. While the primary goal of the thesis is to provide a broad and comprehensive description of the grammar of Innu-aimun particles, the analysis is expressed using the framework of generative grammar and theoretical explanations are suggested throughout.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Throughout the preparation of this thesis, many people have provided advice, assistance, and support. My biggest thank-you must, of course, go to my co-supervisors Phil Branigan and Marguerite MacKenzie, without whom none of this would be possible. I am also grateful to José Mailhot for generously sharing her time and expertise. For friendship, conversation, and company in the "ab lab," I thank Jenn Thorburn; for assistance with administrative matters, I am grateful to Laurel Anne Hasler, Colleen Porter, Mike Harding, and Ruby Bishop.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, and 3rd person
1P	1st-person plural, exclusive
1S, 2S, 3S	1st-, 2nd-, and 3rd-person singular
21P	1st-person plural, inclusive
2P, 3P	2nd- and 3rd-person plural
3′	obviative
3′S, 3′P	obviative singular and plural
ABIL	ability or potentiality
ABS	absentative/inaccessible
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
AI	animate intransitive
ANIM	animate
C	complementizer
CL	subordinate clause
CONJ	conjunct order
Conj	conjunction
Coord	coordinator
CURA	Community-University Research Alliance
Deg	degree modifier
Det	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct theme sign
DUB	dubitative
EMPH	emphatic
EVID	evidential
EXT	extended
F	focus particle
Foc	focus (syntactic projection)
FUT	future
HES	hesitation
IC	initial change

II	inanimate intransitive
IMP	imperative
INDEF	indefinite
INV	inverse theme sign
IRREAL	irrealis
LOC	locative
N	noun
N_{LOC}	locative noun
Neg	negator
OBV	obviative
P	preposition
p	prepositional final
P_{FN}	functional preposition
P_{LOC}	locative preposition
PERF	perfective
PLUR	plural
PRED	predicate
PRET	preterit
Pvb	preverb
Q	quantifier
QST	question particle
REDUP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
RESTR	restricted
S	sentence
SBJCTV	subjective
SING	singular
Subord	subordinator
TA	transitive animate
TI	transitive inanimate
V	verb
V_{conj}	verb with conjunct inflection
V_{ind}	verb with independent inflection
VOLIT	volitional
X	placeholder for any syntactic category
$x > y$	direction of transitivity shown by theme sign (replace *x*, *y* with 1, 2, 3, 3′)
XP	phrase headed by category X
Ø	null morpheme, empty category, unfilled position

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a close examination of the class of words that Algonquianists refer to as PARTICLES. More specifically, it examines the class of particles in Innu-aimun, an Algonquian language spoken in Quebec and Labrador, with the goal of describing the grammar of this diverse set of words.

Despite the long and rich tradition of Algonquian linguistics, very little is known about particles, the class of morphologically simple words that correspond with English prepositions, adverbs, quantifiers, conjunctions, and interjections. The incredible complexity of Algonquian nouns and verbs has engendered among researchers somewhat of a neglect for particles, and in consequence, even such seemingly simple matters as distinguishing between adverbs and prepositions remain areas of mystery (Mailhot 2003).

Such areas of mystery are the focus of this thesis. Its primary goal is to present a grammatical description of Innu-aimun particles, with two critical elements: (1) a set of part-of-speech labels that divide particles into sub-categories, and (2) a set of grammatical rules that describe how particles from each sub-category are used in sentences.

The thesis will, in some ways, fall short of these goals. As its title suggests, it is not the culmination of an investigation into the grammar of particles—rather, it is the beginning

of one. No doubt many facts remain to be discovered and many generalizations remain to be made. However, considering what little is currently known about particles, even this tentative first step in cataloguing and analyzing them should be of value to the field.

The rest of this chapter elaborates on what the thesis is about and what it aims to accomplish. The first two sections provide background information: Section 1.1 is a brief linguistic introduction to Innu-aimun, while Section 1.2 summarizes existing research on Innu-aimun particles. With this background in place, Section 1.3 proceeds to set out the scope and goals of this thesis. Section 1.4 then discusses the sources of data that were used in order to accomplish these goals.

1.1. ABOUT INNU-AIMUN. This section provides a brief linguistic introduction to Innu-aimun, discussing its genetic and geographical status (§1.1.1), its general typological characteristics (§1.1.2), and the extensive morphology involved in word formation (§1.1.3) and inflection (§1.1.4). More detailed information on these matters can be found in Drapeau 1979, Clarke 1982, MacKenzie 1982, Martin 1991, Cyr 1996b, and Clarke and MacKenzie 2007.

1.1.1. GENETIC AFFILIATION, LOCATION AND STATUS. Innu-aimun is the name given to several dialects of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi (CMN) dialect continuum. CMN, spoken by approximately 100,000 people across Canada (Gordon 2006), is a member of the Algonquian language family, and, hence, the Algic family, as illustrated in Figure 1.1.

The name Innu-aimun encompasses all of the Montagnais dialects of CMN, which are spoken by the Innu of Quebec and Labrador, as well as the Naskapi dialect spoken in Natuashish, Labrador. Figure 1.2 illustrates the dialects of CMN and lists the communities

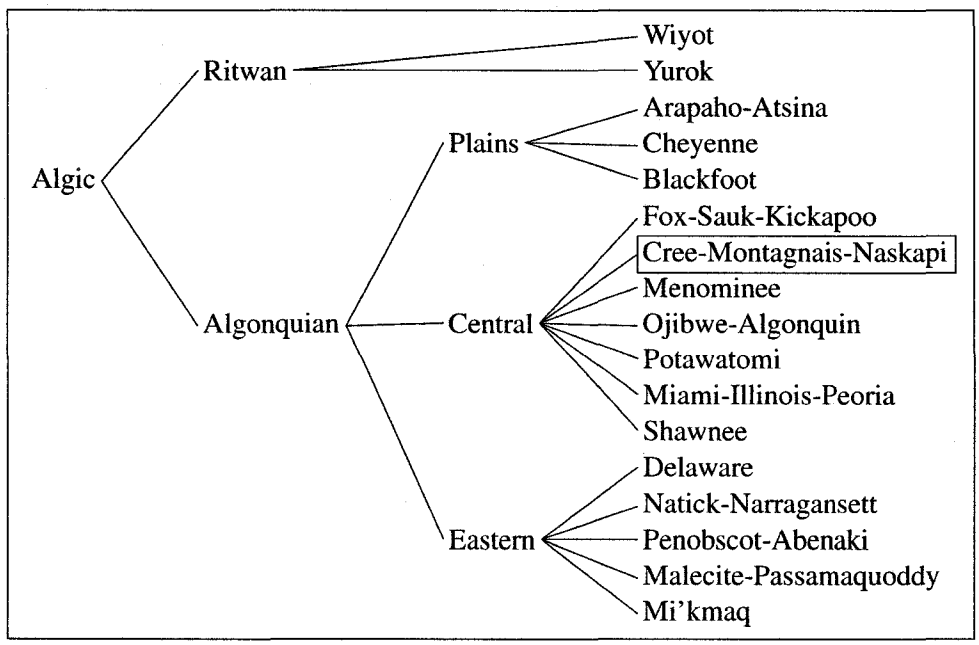


FIGURE 1.1. Algic languages
(adapted from Mithun 1999 and Valentine 2001)
NOTE: The Plains and Central groupings are geographical, not genetic.

where Montagnais and Naskapi dialects are spoken. The map in Figure 1.3 shows the location of these communities.

As of 2005, there were approximately 18,000 Innu people in Quebec and Labrador (Armitage 2005). Unlike most North American aboriginal languages, Innu-aimun has been vigorously retained and is still learned in the home by children. As an example of the relative health of Innu-aimun, consider that it is spoken as a first language by approximately 90% of the population of Sheshatshiu, Labrador—some 1200 speakers (Burnaby 2004; Thorburn 2005).

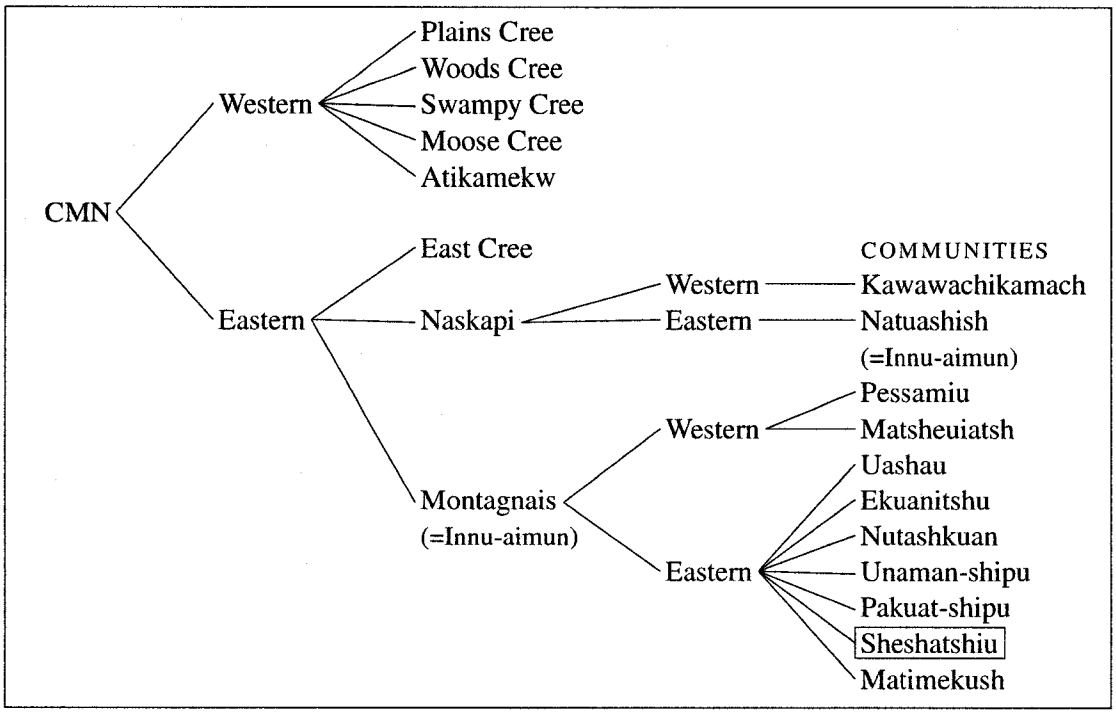


FIGURE 1.2. CMN dialects and Montagnais/Naskapi communities
(adapted from Scott 2000 and MacKenzie 2003)

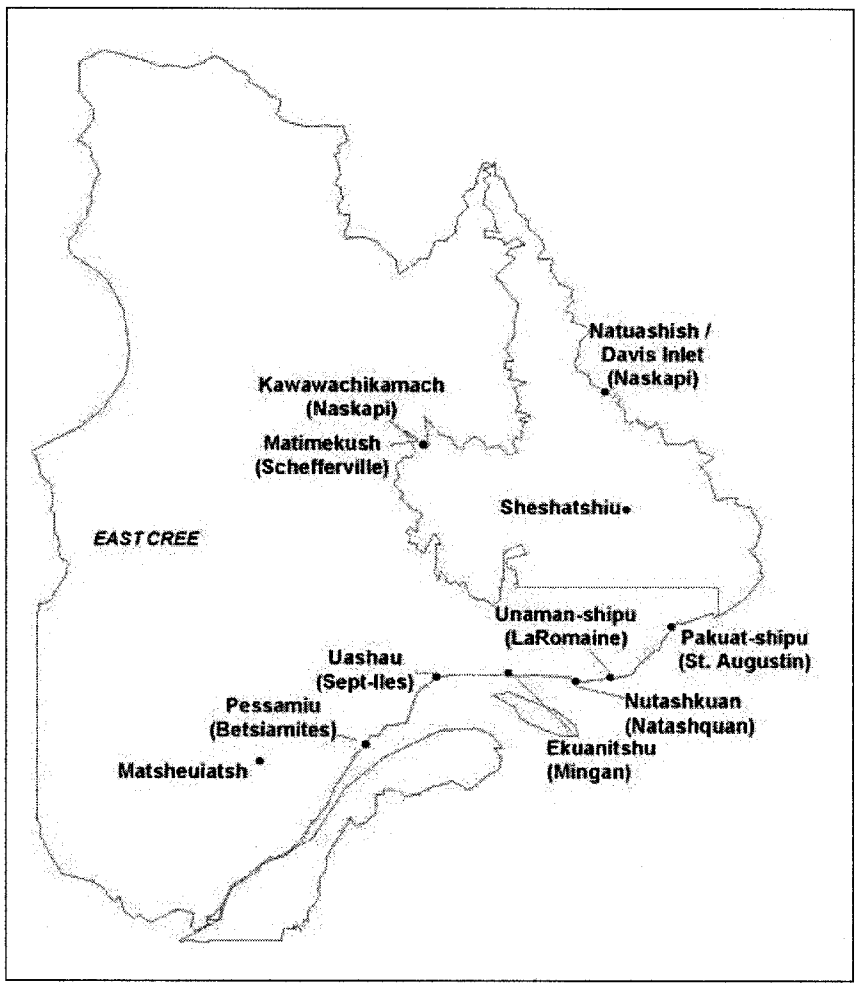


FIGURE 1.3. Innu communities in Quebec-Labrador
(Clarke and MacKenzie 2007)

The Innu-aimun spoken in Sheshatshiu is the focus of my research, as I will discuss further below. Sheshatshiu was settled quite recently—in the 1960s—by Innu people from various territorial backgrounds. In consequence, there is much linguistic variability in the community. Mailhot (1997a) identifies three sub-groups of Sheshatshiu Innu, each of which has a unique dialect: the *Uashaunnuat* ('Sept-Iles people'), with relatives in Uashau and Matimekush, the *Mashkuanunnuat* ('Musquaro people'), with relatives on the Lower North Shore of Quebec, and the *Mushuaunnuat* ('Tundra people'), with relatives in Natuashish and Kawawachikamach. Since the settlement of Sheshatshiu, the three dialects have gradually been converging (Clarke 1987).

1.1.2. TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS. This section discusses the basic properties of Innu-aimun grammar. Like other Algonquian languages, Innu-aimun has polysynthetic morphology and non-configurational syntax. That is, it uses complex words that contain a large number of morphemes and allows these words to be ordered in a flexible manner governed mainly by pragmatic factors.

Innu-aimun words may be classified into parts of speech following the traditional Algonquian model, which is based exclusively on morphological criteria. Three parts of speech are usually identified (as in, for example, Bloomfield 1946): NOUNS, VERBS, and PARTICLES. Nouns and verbs have rich and distinct systems of inflection, while particles are indeclinable. A fourth class may also be distinguished: PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES, a group of function words that take certain nominal inflections.[1] This class has much in common with nouns, and I will use the cover term NOMINALS to refer to

[1] Some members of this class take certain verbal inflections as well, as shown in Chapter 4.

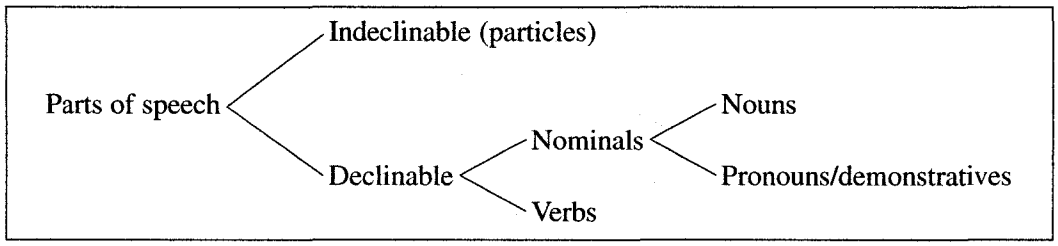


FIGURE 1.4. Morphological classification of Algonquian parts of speech

both nouns and pronouns/demonstratives together when appropriate. The morphologically-based classification of Algonquian parts of speech is illustrated in Figure 1.4.

In normal Innu-aimun speech, there is a very high proportion of verbs—"to be a good Montagnais speaker means to be able to produce verbs in a massive way" (Cyr 1996b: 202). Several factors combine to produce this effect, including (1) the omission of overt subject and object nominals, which are often unnecessary due to agreement morphology on the verb, and (2) the use of verbs where English would use adjectives.

Innu-aimun has extensive systems of morphology for both word-formation and inflection. These morphological systems are described in the next two sections.

1.1.3. WORD FORMATION. This section discusses the formation of the STEM, the meaning-carrying part of the word to which inflectional affixes are subsequently added. Accounts of Algonquian stem formation generally follow the framework set out by Bloomfield (1927, 1946, 1962), with subsequent modifications by Goddard (1990).

An Algonquian stem consists of at most three components: an INITIAL (or ROOT), a MEDIAL, and a FINAL, in that order. The components may be single morphemes, or they

themselves may be derived from other morphemes. Each component plays a specific role: the initial establishes the basic meaning of the stem, the medial adds a nominal notion, such as a body part or an instrument, and the final determines the word class of the stem (and may also contribute additional meaning). Every stem must minimally contain an initial, and most stems also contain a final.[2] Medials are optional.

A verb final not only marks the stem as a verb, but also determines which TRANSITIVITY CLASS the verb belongs to. Algonquian verbs are divided into four transitivity classes based on the animacy of the subject and, if present, the object: AI (animate subject, intransitive), II (inanimate subject, intransitive), TI (transitive, inanimate object), and TA (transitive, animate object). Each class has a distinct inflectional paradigm.

Several other word-formation processes also operate in Innu-aimun. Initial reduplication may be used to add a meaning of repetition or distribution, as in ***papeikᵘ*** 'one by one, one each,' from *peikᵘ* 'one.' A diminutive suffix may be added to a noun, verb, or particle, as in ***atimuss*** 'puppy,' from *atimᵘ* 'dog.' As well, compound words may be formed, as in *mitâshiâpîuassikumân* 'knitting needle,' from *mitâshiâpî* 'wool' and *assikumân* 'iron' (Cyr 1996b: 180). Further information about the derivation and compounding of Innu-aimun nouns may be found in Drapeau 1979.

1.1.4. INFLECTION. This section surveys the inflectional morphology of Innu-aimun nouns and verbs. (Pronouns and demonstratives are the topic of Chapter 3, so their inflectional morphology will be discussed in that chapter.)

[2]Bloomfield (1946) and Wolfart (1973) analyze stems with no overt final as containing a null final. Goddard (1990), on the other hand, analyzes these stems as containing only an initial.

NOUNS. Nouns are divided into two genders—animate (e.g. *auâss* 'child') and inanimate (e.g. *uâu* 'egg')— and may be inflected for (1) plurality, (2) possession, (3) obviation, and (4) locative case, as summarized in the following points.

1. PLURALITY: The plural suffix differs for animate and inanimate nouns (e.g. *auâss**at*** 'children,' *uâu**a*** 'eggs').

2. POSSESSION: Possessed nouns carry prefixes and suffixes that identify the person and number of their possessor (e.g. *mîtshim* 'food,' ***umîtshim*** 'his/her food,' ***umîtshimuâu*** 'their food').

3. OBVIATION: When there is more than one third person in a clause, the obviative marker *-a* is added to the one that is less contextually salient. Obviation is obligatory in certain syntactic environments. For example, in a transitive sentence with two third-person arguments, one argument must be marked as obviative. Due to its role in marking a "further" third person, obviation is usually indicated by the symbol 3′.

4. LOCATIVE CASE: The suffix *-ît* converts a noun into an expression of location. For example, with the addition of the locative suffix, the noun *mîtshuâp* 'house' becomes ***mîtshuâpît*** 'at/to the house.' Following Starks' (1992: 45) analysis of Woods Cree, I will regard the locative suffix as a marker of locative case. Although this is not a traditional analysis, the suffix performs exactly the function that locative case does: it marks a noun as a syntactially oblique expression of location.[3]

VERBS. Verb inflections are chosen from two major sets called ORDERS—distinct but parallel inflectional paradigms whose use is determined by the syntactic environment.

[3]See Chapter 6, Section 6.2 for further discussion.

Verbs in declarative main clauses take inflections from the INDEPENDENT order, while verbs in *wh*-questions, negated clauses, and subordinate clauses take inflections from the CONJUNCT order. (A third order, the IMPERATIVE, also exists.) The major inflectional categories marked on verbs are (1) person and number, (2) direction of transitivity, and (3) tense and mood, as summarized in the following points.

1. PERSON AND NUMBER: Verbs are marked for the person and number of their argument(s). In the independent order, prefixes and suffixes are used together for this purpose, while the conjunct order uses only suffixes.

2. DIRECTION OF TRANSITIVITY: For transitive verbs, the person-marking affixes simply identify the two arguments—they do not tell which argument is the subject and which is the object. This link-up is governed by the following ANIMACY HIERARCHY:

(1) $2 > 1 > 3 > 3'$

If a suffix called the DIRECT THEME SIGN is attached to the verb, the direction of transitivity is understood to follow the hierarchy: the higher-ranked argument acts on the lower-ranked argument. If an INVERSE theme sign is used, the direction is reversed: the lower-ranked argument acts on the higher-ranked argument.

3. TENSE AND MODALITY: Verbs inflect for a variety of tenses and modalities, usually using portmanteau suffixes that encode both person/number and tense/modality. Some examples are shown in (2), based on Clarke and MacKenzie 2007.

(2) a. Indicative neutral: ***nipâu*** 's/he is asleep'

b. Indicative preterit: ***nipâpan*** 's/he was asleep'

c. Dubitative neutral: ***nipâtshe*** 'perhaps s/he is asleep'

d. Dubitative preterit: *nipâ**kupan*** 'perhaps s/he was asleep'

e. Evidential neutral: *nipâ**tak*** 's/he must be asleep'

f. Evidential preterit: *nipâ**shapan*** 's/he must have been asleep'

g. Subjective: ***ka-**nipâuâ*** 'it seems to me that s/he is asleep'

Although forms bearing neutral inflection are translated using the present tense in (2), they may in fact have either present or past temporal reference. Another possible translation for *nipâu* in (2a), then, is 's/he **was** asleep.'

In addition to these inflectional affixes, Innu-aimun also expresses tense, aspect, modality, and related notions using PREVERBS, particle-like morphemes that appear between the agreement prefixes and the verb stem. Preverbs are independent phonological words, but morphosyntactically they are part of the verb, as indicated by the appearance of verb inflection to their left (Goddard 1990). Examples with and without the preverb of ability *tshî* are contrasted in (3). Note that the first-person prefix *ni-* precedes the preverb.[4]

(3) a. *Ni**tshî*** *mîtshishun.*
1.ABIL eat.1S
'I can eat.'

b. *Nimîtshishun.*
1.eat.1S
'I eat.' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007)

Finally, it should be noted that in certain environments, verbs inflected in the conjunct order undergo INITIAL CHANGE, an ablaut process that modifies the first vowel of the verb. For example, the verb *pimûteu* 's/he walks' has the conjunct form *pimûtet*; the corresponding changed form is *pemûtet*. Changed forms normally occur in *wh*-questions and relative clauses. If a preverb is present, the preverb undergoes initial change rather than the following verb.

[4]Preverbs are discussed further in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.

1.2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON PARTICLES. This section reviews existing research on Innu-aimun particles and other related topics. Only a brief survey of this body of research is provided here; the specific findings of each work will be discussed in more detail in the relevant section of the thesis.

There has been a substantial amount of research on Innu-aimun, including a preliminary dialectology (MacKenzie 1980), a reference grammar (Clarke 1982), and a dictionary (Drapeau 1991). However, few works have specifically focused on particles, which are usually mentioned only in passing. For example, Clarke's (1982) grammar devotes only a couple of pages to particles, while Drapeau's (1991) dictionary does not distinguish between classes of particles, labeling them all simply as *p*.[5]

Two classes of particles were, however, investigated in the 1980s and 1990s: conjunctions and negators. Starks's (1982) description of subordination in Innu-aimun surveys the use of subordinating and coordinating conjunctions, while negators are described by MacKenzie (1992) and analyzed by Brittain (1996, 1997, 1999, 2001).

In recent years, other types of particles have been studied. Branigan and MacKenzie's (2002b) study of the particle *ekᵘ* ('and then, and so'; see Section 8.4.2) identifies a transformation that moves particles to a sentence-initial position, thus shedding light on the syntax of particles. Another relevant work is Bannister's (2004) thesis, which examines the use of particles and preverbs in a set of Innu-aimun texts and attempts to formulate general principles that govern their ordering. For example, Bannister found that particles expressing the speaker's opinion tend to precede particles of time and aspect.

[5]Of course, considering the extreme complexity of Innu-aimun nouns and verbs, it is entirely appropriate that these pioneering works placed little emphasis on particles.

Another source of work on particles is the 5-year SSHRC Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) project titled *Knowledge and Human Resources for Innu Language Development*, directed by Marguerite MacKenzie. In October 2005, the CURA project held a workshop aimed at classifying particles into finer-grained parts of speech for use in an upcoming Innu-French-English dictionary. The workshop succeeded in developing a working classification scheme, shown in Figure 1.5, but many of its aspects remain to be refined and formally justified.

- Prepositions (includes "demonstrative prepositions," e.g. *anite* 'there')
- Quantifiers (occur with nouns)
- Adverbs (do not modify nouns)
  - Adverbs of time
  - Adverbs of space
  - Adverbs of manner
  - Adverbs of degree
  - Adverbs of certainty
- Interjections
- Conjunctions
  - Coordinating conjunctions
  - Subordinating conjunctions
- Particles (negative, focus)

FIGURE 1.5. Classification of particles from CURA workshop (Hasler 2006)

Research on particles in other Algonquian languages is also relevant to this thesis, considering that the Algonquian languages "are all sufficiently similar that they may summarily be described as a whole without undue violence" (Teeter 1976: 512–513). Three recent studies of specific particles in Cree illustrate various techniques for the fine-grained syntactic analysis of Algonquian particles (Reinholtz and Wolfart 2001; Reinholtz 2002, 2005). Starks' (1992) study of Woods Cree syntax outlines the patterning of locative and adverbial phrases, which often involve particles. As well, Valentine's (2001) grammar of Ojibwe contains a detailed classification of particles. Finally, Pentland's (2005) study of the historical relationships between preverbs and particles provides a diachronic perspective.

Additional relevant research comes from studies of preverbs and demonstratives, which share some properties with particles. Preverbs have been studied in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1967), in Western Naskapi (Jancewicz and MacKenzie 1998), and across the CMN continuum (Clarke et al. 1993). Demonstratives have been studied in Innu-aimun (Cyr 1993a), East Cree (Junker and MacKenzie 2003, 2004), and Plains Cree (Cyr 1993b, 1996a).

In conclusion, then, there is a considerable amount of research that examines aspects of the grammar of particles. The problem, however, is that this research is quite fragmented. In many cases, particles receive only a brief mention in a work that is primarily concerned with some other aspect of grammar. Even papers that focus exclusively on particles usually examine only one or a very small number of them. Such studies produce valuable results, but since no coherent analysis of the entire set of particles exists, the relationships among them are so unclear that it is almost impossible to expand on these results and apply them to other particles. What is needed, I believe, is a work that consolidates the various findings

discussed above and moves forward to develop a coherent picture of the entire class of particles. This, as the following section elaborates, is the main goal of this thesis.

1.3. SCOPE AND GOALS OF THIS THESIS. The grammar of Innu-aimun particles presents far more questions than a single thesis can answer. This section sets out exactly which matters the thesis is concerned with (its scope, §1.3.1) and exactly what it is intended to accomplish (its goals, §1.3.2).

1.3.1. SCOPE. There are at least three dimensions along which the scope of descriptive grammatical research can vary:

(4) a. DIALECT VARIATION: Does the research compare multiple dialects, or is it concerned with only a single dialect?

b. BREADTH: Does the research examine a wide range of categories and constructions, or just a restricted subset?

c. DEPTH: Does the research present a detailed and complete analysis of a given construction, or does it simply survey its general properties?

A truly complete grammar of Innu-aimun particles would rate high on all three dimensions. It would examine a broad range of constructions in depth and document how they vary across dialects. Such a project is far larger than a Master's thesis permits, so the scope of this thesis has been carefully delineated in each of the three dimensions listed above.

On the dimension of dialect variation, the thesis is concerned primarily with the Uashau and Mashkuanu sub-dialects of Innu-aimun spoken in Sheshatshiu, Labrador. The thesis does not focus on the Mushuau sub-dialect, which is quite different from the other two

dialects and is, in fact, regarded as "a transitional dialect between Innu and James Bay Cree" (Mailhot 1997b: 58). While a comparison with this and other dialects of Innu-aimun would be valuable, attempting to undertake such a comparative approach in this thesis would have required a significant reduction in the breadth and/or depth of the study.[6]

In contrast with its restricted coverage of dialect variation, the thesis has very broad coverage of the class of particles, devoting a chapter to each major group. Considering how little is known about Innu-aimun particles, a broad study that attempts to establish an integrated picture of the entire system of particles seems more beneficial to the field than a more focused study that considers only a fragment of the system.

This breadth means that the depth of coverage must be somewhat limited. The thesis is confined primarily to the level of basic grammatical description, not detailed theoretical analysis. It is not exclusively descriptive, however. The discussion is informed by linguistic theory and theoretical explanations are offered whenever they are particularly relevant. For coherence, the framework of generative grammar is used throughout.

1.3.2. GOALS. The primary aim of this thesis, keeping in mind the scope outlined above, is to present a coherent, rudimentary grammatical description of the entire system of particles in the Sheshatshiu dialect. More specifically, the thesis is intended to accomplish the following three goals: (1) Establish a classification scheme for particles that is both practically useful and theoretically sound. (2) Provide a basic grammatical description for

[6]It must be noted, however, that some of the narrators in the Labrador Innu Text Project, a major source of data for this study, do have certain Mushuau dialect features (Marguerite MacKenzie, p.c.). In view of the distinctiveness of the Mushuau dialect, data from these narrators—namely, Etuat Rich, Shanut Rich, and Shushep Rich—must be treated carefully, as the grammatical patterns may not always be the same as those in the Uashau and Mashkuanu dialects.

each class of particles. (3) Where possible, supplement the description with a theoretical analysis in order to provide substance, plausibility, and coherence.

These goals set out the content of the thesis. I have also kept in mind a set of "higher-order" goals, which describe how the thesis can contribute to the field. It is intended to serve as (1) a foundation and a point of reference for more in-depth work on Innu-aimun particles, (2) a model (or a foil) for similar work in other Algonquian languages, and (3) a practical resource for information about Innu-aimun particles.

In order to help accomplish this final goal, the Appendix contains a glossary of particles attested in the Sheshatshiu dialect. The glossary provides an English translation for each particle and notes the particle's classification according to the scheme developed in this thesis. The glossary therefore acts as an index to the thesis: a reader can look up a specific particle in the glossary to see which class I have assigned it to, and can then consult the chapter dedicated to that class in order to read about (and evaluate) its definition, its subclasses, and its grammatical properties.

1.4. DATA AND METHODOLOGY. This study has two major sources of data: stories from the Labrador Innu Text Project and original fieldwork conducted in Sheshatshiu. In addition to these sources, examples are also drawn from two databases of Innu-aimun words: the Betsiamites database, which underlies Drapeau's (1991) dictionary, and LabLex, a database of Labrador Innu-aimun words. This section discusses each of these sources (§§1.4.1–1.4.3) and then explains how examples from the data are cited and formatted in the thesis (§1.4.4).

1.4.1. THE LABRADOR INNU TEXT PROJECT (LITP). Led by Marguerite MacKenzie, the LITP has released a four-booklet set titled *Myths and Tales from Sheshatshiu* (Mailhot et al. 1999, 2002), a collection of traditional Innu stories that were originally recorded in Sheshatshiu in 1967. Under the direction of ethnolinguist José Mailhot, the stories have been transcribed in the standard Innu-aimun orthography and edited by a multidialectal team of Innu-aimun speakers in order to remove errors and slips of the tongue.[7] In addition, a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss of each story has been produced by former MUN graduate students Jane Bannister and Laurel Anne Hasler. The 29 stories contain just under 15,000 words, including approximately 4,000 particles, and are an excellent database for investigating the grammatical patterns of spontaneous, natural speech in the narrative genre. A list of the LITP stories is provided in Table 1.1.

1.4.2. FIELDWORK. The LITP texts are useful for developing hypotheses about the grammar of Innu-aimun, but the testing and refinement of such hypotheses inevitably requires specific data that cannot be found in existing corpora. In order to obtain such data, I conducted fieldwork with seven speakers of Innu-aimun in the community of Sheshatshiu over a period of eight weeks (August 19 to October 14, 2006). The speakers are listed in Table 1.2 along with their age group, sex, and dialect.[8]

It is evident from Table 1.2 that the sample is somewhat unbalanced—most of the participants are speakers of the Uashau dialect, most are female, and most are over 40. While a more balanced sample would be preferable, recall that the goal of this thesis is only to es-

[7]False starts and repetitions, which were removed from the published version of the LITP texts, still remain in the version used as data for this study.

[8]Prior to conducting fieldwork in Sheshatshiu, I also worked with one speaker in St. John's, Newfoundland. This speaker is also listed in the table.

TABLE 1.1. Contents of volumes 1–4 of the Labrador Innu Text Project

No.	Title	Narrator	Word count
1-1	Mishta-paushtik^{u}	Ishpashtien Nuna	60
1-2	Uapush	Ishpashtien Nuna	77
1-3	Mishikamaunnu	Etuat Rich	311
1-4	Uapush mak Umatshashkuk^{u}	Etuat Rich	701
1-5	Aiasheu	Shimun Grégoire	596
1-6	Ka ui uitshimikut kakua	Etuat Rich	342
1-7	Atiku-mitshuap	Etuat Rich	259
1-8	Ka uitashkumat	Ishpashtien Nuna	269
1-9	Mrs. Hubbard	Shushep Rich	194
2-1	Tshishina ka natikut	Tanien Pone	337
2-2	Ka katashkuet	Etuat Rich	326
2-3	Mishtamishk^{u}	Shushep Ashini	390
2-4	Meshapush	Etuat Rich	504
2-5	Kaiakuapishkasht ka ishkuatet	Ishpashtien Nuna	186
2-6	Ka tshitishimakanit Atshen	Etuat Rich	269
2-7	Ka uitatikumat	Ishpashtien Nuna	812
2-8	Tshishina ka natikut	Etuat Rich	212
2-9	Manitusha ka unapemit ishkueu	Ishpashtien Nuna	413
3-1	Ka uitamishkumat	Ishpashtien Nuna	687
3-2	Utshimau	Shanut Rich	678
3-3	Katshineshtunau	Etuat Rich	452
3-4	Atshena ka utauikat ishkueu	Etuat Rich	569
3-5	Tshiushuass	Etuat Rich	591
4-1	Manitusha ka unapemit ishkueu	Etuat Rich	285
4-2	Mishkutuiapeu	Ishpashtien Nuna	849
4-3	Auass ka utikumit	Etuat Rich	2885
4-4	Uapush mak Nanimissu	Etuat Rich	504
4-5	Ishkueu	Tanien Pone	230
4-6	Mishta-mitshishu	Etuat Rich	885

TABLE 1.2. Participants in fieldwork

Age group	Sex	Dialect
under 40	F	Uashau
under 40	F	Mashkuanu
under 40	F	mixed
over 40	M	Uashau
over 40	F	Uashau
over 40	F	Uashau
over 40	F	Uashau
over 40	F	Mashkuanu

tablish basic descriptive generalizations about Innu-aimun particles, not to do a fine-grained analysis of grammatical variation. For the chosen purpose, this sample is suitable.

On average, I conducted one two-hour elicitation session per day. Some sessions were one-on-one, while in others I worked with two speakers together. Before each session, I prepared a list of English sentences and printed a copy for myself and a copy for the participant(s). During the session, I would ask the participant(s) to translate each sentence into Innu-aimun. We usually proceeded orally, but the participant could also consult the written copy if desired. After writing down the translation, I would sometimes vary the word order or word choice and ask whether or not the result was still an acceptable sentence.

Our discussions usually strayed from the prepared material, and such digressions were often very productive. As I developed a relationship with each participant over my eight weeks in Labrador, it became much easier to candidly discuss the material, and participants

became comfortable enough to offer nuanced explanations of the meaning and context entailed by specific sentences.

1.4.3. DICTIONARY DATABASES. The Betsiamites and LabLex databases will both be part of a new Innu-French-English dictionary under development by the CURA project at Memorial University of Newfoundland. The Betsiamites database contains 21,506 distinct lexemes (including 1156 listed as particles), while LabLex contains 11,675 lexemes (with 717 listed as particles).

1.4.4. PRESENTATION OF DATA. Examples from LITP texts and from my fieldwork are cited using the format exemplified in Table 1.3. Fieldwork participants have been assigned arbitrary numbers for confidentiality. All examples are written in the standard Innu-aimun orthography (Drapeau and Mailhot 1989; Mailhot 1997b) with the additional use of a circumflex to mark long vowels.[9] Innu-aimun sentences are presented in a three-line format, as illustrated in (5).

TABLE 1.3. Format for citing examples

Source	Sample citation	Reference of citation
LITP	(LITP 3-5-096)	volume 3, story 5, sentence 96
Fieldwork	(WO 1-8-23)	participant 1, meeting 8, sentence 23

[9]Examples from sources using other orthographies have been re-spelled in the standard orthography under the guidance of Marguerite MacKenzie.

(5) *Umishkumîmîshapan anite atâmît.*
have.ice.EVID.PAST.3S the.LOC under/inside
'He must have had ice inside (himself).' (LITP 1-4-164)

The first line contains the sentence written in the Innu-aimun orthography. The second line contains a gloss of each word, with its component morphemes separated by periods.[10] The third line contains an English translation. Sometimes I also suggest a more literal translation in addition to the idiomatic one provided.

As mentioned above, part of the fieldwork methodology involved grammaticality judgments. This technique must be used with care, for it would be naive to draw firm conclusions from the judgment of a single speaker at a single point in time. However, over the course of the fieldwork, certain judgments emerged as being especially strong or especially uniform. These judgments do, I believe, count as valid evidence. Whenever such examples are cited in the thesis, they are accompanied by an explanation of the nature of the judgment: for example, whether the sentence was rejected strongly by a single participant, generally disfavoured by all participants, or accepted under certain pragmatic conditions only. The inclusion of these details allows readers to decide for themselves how much weight to give the evidence in question.

1.5. CONCLUSION. This chapter has established the background, goals, and methods of this study. The next chapter presents the central proposal of the thesis: a classification scheme for Innu-aimun particles. This classification scheme determines the outline of the remainder of the thesis, which examines each class of particles in a separate chapter.

[10] A list of abbreviations is provided in the preface.

CHAPTER 2

A CLASSIFICATION OF INNU-AIMUN PARTICLES

The first step in writing a grammar of particles is establishing a system for classifying them. This chapter presents a classification scheme for Innu-aimun particles. Section 2.1 discusses the theoretical issues surrounding part-of-speech classification, laying the groundwork for the classification scheme set out in Section 2.2. This classification scheme establishes the outline for the remaining chapters of the thesis. Before proceeding to these chapters, however, it is necessary to examine the distinction between particles and preverbs, as there are certain borderline cases. This matter is addressed in Section 2.3.

2.1. THE NATURE OF LINGUISTIC CATEGORIES. Although parts of speech are the most familiar component of grammatical descriptions, the theoretical issues that surround them are delicate and surprisingly controversial. This section provides a thorough discussion of these issues, explaining what parts of speech are (§2.1.1), the criteria by which they are established (§2.1.2), the internal organization of categories (§2.1.3), and the significance of the traditional category labels (§2.1.4).

2.1.1. WHAT ARE PARTS OF SPEECH? Parts of speech are an example of a linguistic category, "a class or division in a general scheme or classification" (Pullum 1999: 66). Linguistic categories may be established based on a variety of criteria, including phonological, social, and historical properties (Haspelmath 2001). The set of words that begin with *p*, for example, is a valid linguistic category, and in certain contexts, such as in a dictionary, it is a useful one.

The most familiar set of linguistic categories, however, is the PARTS OF SPEECH, also known as WORD CLASSES or LEXICAL CATEGORIES, which group words together based on their morphological and syntactic properties. Parts of speech are so important because they are the foundation for grammatical description and theory. As Trask (1999: 278) points out, "if every [lexical item] behaved grammatically in its own unique way, there would be no syntactic generalizations to be made, and the study of syntax would be an unrewarding discipline." Luckily for the linguist, lexical items do not, in general, behave uniquely; rather, they tend to fall into classes of words that have similar grammatical behaviour. Recognizing the existence of these classes—the parts of speech—is what allows us to make grammatical generalizations such as "adjectives must precede the noun" or "sentences must contain a verb."

In more specific terms, a part of speech may be defined as "a class of expressions which share a common set of grammatical properties" (Radford 1997). The class of English nouns, for example, is nothing more than the class of English words that can follow *the*, be pluralized by *-s*, and serve as the subject of a sentence. The term 'noun' is simply a shorthand used to refer to words that have these properties.

While this definition of parts of speech is straightforward, its implications are not. Baker (2003: 1), writing about parts of speech, comments that "it is ironic that the first thing one learns can be the last thing one understands." Trask (1999: 279) cites several prominent linguists who share this view: Sapir (1921) described the traditional classification as "a vague, wavering approximation," Jespersen (1924) found it difficult to provide principled motivation for a classification scheme, and Bloomfield (1933) felt that "a system of parts of speech... cannot be set up in any fully satisfactory way." As the following sections closely examine the issues involved in part-of-speech classification, the reasons for these reservations (as well as some possible ways to resolve them) will become more clear.

2.1.2. CRITERIA FOR ESTABLISHING CATEGORIES. There are four basic criteria that may be used to group words into parts of speech: (1) meaning, (2) inflection, (3) derivation, and (4) distribution (Trask 1999). This section examines each criterion in turn.

The first criterion, meaning, was often used in the past (whence the well-known "person, place, or thing" definition of a noun) but is universally rejected by linguists today. While prototypical members of the major word classes do tend to share semantic properties, many less prototypical members do not. Pullum (1999) illustrates this point using the following pair of examples:

(1) a. Sandy likes to refrain from conversation.

b. Sandy is fond of declining to converse.

The meaning of these two sentences is practically identical, but the parts of speech do not align. The noun *conversation* in (a), for example, seems to carry exactly the same meaning

as the verb *converse* in (b). A classification based purely on meaning would inappropriately assign both *conversation* and *converse* to the same class.

The second criterion, inflection, is much more reliable. In Algonquian languages, for example, nouns and verbs are distinguished by many inflectional properties. In general, only verbs inflect for tense and mood, while only nouns inflect for locative case. Such inflectional differences are a strong reason to recognize nouns and verbs as distinct parts of speech. For the purposes of this thesis, however, inflectional criteria are of little use, as particles are, by definition, uninflected.

The third criterion, derivation, is also quite reliable. In English, for example, adjectives are distinguished from other classes in that they may be converted to adverbs by the derivational suffix *-ly*. For this study, derivation is a somewhat more useful criterion than inflection, as certain Innu-aimun particles do contain derivational morphology. However, the majority of particles are monomorphemic, so the usefulness of derivational criteria is limited.

The fourth criterion, distribution, refers to the syntactic patterning of words. Distributional criteria were first embraced by American structuralists in the 1950s and have subsequently become the primary means of identifying word classes (Pullum 1999; Haspelmath 2001). The most basic type of distributional test is the FRAME SENTENCE, as in (2), a frame sentence for nouns. Any word that can fill the blank in (2) is considered to be a noun.

(2) The ___ was/were good. (Fries 1951, cited in Pullum 1999)

While frame sentences were widely used by structuralists, linguists have since found a significant deficiency: frame sentences completely ignore syntactic structure, focusing en-

tirely on linear order (Pullum 1999; Trask 1999). More sophisticated distributional criteria have since been developed. Such criteria include (1) the grammatical function filled by the word in question (e.g. a noun can act as a subject or an object) and (2) the elements that the word in question can combine with (e.g. a preposition can combine with a following noun).

The latter criterion is variously referred to as a word's VALENCY, its CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS, its SUBCATEGORIZATION FRAME, its COMBINATORIAL PROPERTIES, or its SELECTIONAL RESTRICTIONS. These terms are not fully equivalent, but they all express the same basic idea: every word has a certain fixed set of elements that it may combine with (e.g. articles combine with nouns, adverbs combine with verbs, etc.). If two words each combine with the same set of elements, this is evidence that they both belong to the same part of speech. Distributional evidence of this sort is often used in this thesis.

2.1.3. THE ORGANIZATION OF CATEGORIES. The preceding section discussed the criteria for assigning words to categories, but this is only half the story. It is also necessary to carefully examine how categories are organized. While traditionally the parts of speech are presented as a set of eight separate and equal members, the situation is actually much more complicated, as categories are interrelated in various intricate ways.

Perhaps the most obvious relationship among the parts of speech is that they fall into supercategories. Three dichotomies are commonly used: (1) content words versus function words, (2) open versus closed classes, and (3) morphological versus syntactic classes. Content words carry descriptive, semantic content while function words primarily carry grammatical information (e.g. *dog*, *happy*, *eat* versus *not*, *than*, *and*). Closed classes do

not readily admit new members while open classes do (e.g. English conjunctions versus nouns). Morphological or PARADIGMATIC classes (Gleason 1955) are declinable while syntactic classes are not (e.g. Innu-aimun nouns and verbs versus particles).

Traditional classification schemes often include a category in which words that are difficult to classify may be tucked away. In European grammars, the class of adverbs has filled this role ever since the work of Dionysius Thrax in 100 BC (Trask 1999). As Trask remarks, "The European tradition of tossing...troublesome words into the dustbin class of 'adverbs,' still followed by many dictionaries, is indefensible" (p. 282). In more recent work, the term "particle," from Latin *particula* 'small part' (Hartmann 1999), has also been used as a classificaton for function words that do not fit into the traditional classes, such as focus particles and discourse particles (Haspelmath 2001). The use of "particle" by Algonquianists is somewhat more principled, as it identifies a valid morphological class. In terms of syntax, however, the vastness and diversity of this class nevertheless give it somewhat of a "dustbin" character.

One of the biggest challenges to the organization of part-of-speech systems is the existence of subclasses. Differences between words are not always clear-cut, and there are many groups of words that are only partially similar, sharing certain properties but not others (Schachter 1985). Should these words be placed in a single class or in two separate classes? As an example, consider English count nouns (e.g. *dog* and *book*) and mass nouns (e.g. *mud* and *sugar*). While there are grammatical differences between the two classes (e.g. *five dogs* vs. **five muds*), it is generally agreed that their overwhelming similarities justify considering them both as nouns. For other examples, however, the answer is not so easy. Are lexical verbs and auxiliaries two subsets of a single class of verbs, or are they

two separate categories? The answer is controversial, and in many such cases "the decision comes down to a matter of taste or terminology" (Baker 2003: 6). Haspelmath (2001) refers to this issue as the SUBCLASS PROBLEM.

A resolution to the subclass problem is discussed by Radford (1997), who, following Chomsky (1965, 1970), views words as being composed of FEATURES: specifications of phonological, semantic, and grammatical properties. The nouns *dog*, *book*, *mud*, and *sugar*, for example, all have the grammatical feature [+N], which signifies their typical nominal properties (e.g. the ability to occur after *the*). Two subclasses of nouns are distinguished by the feature [±COUNT]: the count nouns *dog* and *book* are [+COUNT], while the mass nouns *mud* and *sugar* are [−COUNT].

As in phonology, features allow the identification of NATURAL CLASSES. A natural class is a group of items that have the same value for a given feature. All words that have a [+N] feature, for example, form a natural class (e.g. *dog*, *book*, *mud*, *sugar*). All words with [+COUNT] also form a natural class (*dog*, *book*), as do those with [−COUNT] (*mud*, *sugar*). It is these natural classes, determined by grammatical features, that are truly relevant to the grammar. Conventional category labels such as 'noun' are in fact simply convenient shorthands for natural classes.

To illustrate this point, Radford examines the status of the perfective auxiliary *have*. As mentioned above, the classification of auxiliaries is controversial. Perfective *have* has the following features: [+V], which identifies its verbal properties (e.g. the ability to bear tense), [+F], which marks it as a function word, and [+PERF], which represents the perfective aspect. Depending on which of these features we focus on, we can give *have* a variety of category labels. As a member of the natural class of [+V] words, we can label it a verb;

as a member of the natural class of [+V, +F] words, we can label it an auxiliary; and as a member of the natural class of [+V, +F, +PERF] words, we can label it a perfective auxiliary. As this example makes clear, however, these category labels are not theoretical primitives. Rather, they stand for natural classes, which are determined by clusters of grammatical features. The features, not the category labels, are what truly count. Under this view, the dilemma of whether auxiliaries and lexical verbs belong to the same class is meaningless. In one sense, they do, as they all belong to the class of [+V] words. In another sense, they do not, as only auxiliaries belong to the class of [+F] words.

If a category label is nothing more than a convenient shorthand for a natural class, then in turn, a part-of-speech system must be nothing more than a set of convenient shorthands chosen to represent the natural classes that turn out to be the most useful for describing the grammar of a given language. Part-of-speech systems have great practical value, but carry very little theoretical significance; this significance is borne solely by grammatical features and the natural classes they determine. Keeping this distinction in mind allows us to avoid unnecessary anxiety over questions that boil down to little of substance.

2.1.4. CROSS-LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS. A final important issue is the use of grammatical terms such as "adverb," "preposition," and "conjunction," which have their roots in Greek and Roman grammar. Is it acceptable to describe Innu-aimun using these terms? There is a danger that foreign terminology may introduce assumptions about grammar that are inappropriate for Innu-aimun. As long as the teminology is used carefully, however, this danger can be avoided. In fact, the use of traditional terms can bring significant benefits.

Most linguists endorse the following protocol for establishing and labeling parts of speech. First identify the groups of words that pattern together, using language-particular criteria only. Once the grammatically relevant groups have been established, they may then be labeled by appeal to cross-linguistic semantic prototypes. If a group contains many words for persons, places, and things, for example, label it "noun"; if another group contains many words for actions, label it "verb," and so on (Schachter 1985; Trask 1999; Haspelmath 2001; Huddleston and Pullum 2002). By placing the identification of groups ahead of labeling, this protocol ensures that the classification is faithful to the structure of the language under study.[1]

Certain benefits come along with using the traditional terms. They are quite familiar to linguists and educators, and many ordinary speakers have knowledge of them as well. (The alternative, eschewing the traditional terms in favour of more neutral terminology such as "Class 1," "Class 2," etc., hardly seems as appealing.) Using the traditional terminology also makes the language more accessible to cross-linguistic comparative research.

2.2. CLASSIFICATION SCHEME AND THESIS OUTLINE. The classification of particles developed and defended in this thesis is based on the classification scheme from the CURA workshop shown in Figure 1.5 (p. 13), but with several changes and refinements. This section provides an overview of the classification scheme, informally summarizing the basic properties of each class. The classes are more rigorously defined, distinguished, and exemplified in the subsequent chapters, which examine each class in turn.

[1]Proceeding in the opposite direction—starting with the traditional classification and attempting to fit Innu-aimun words into it—would indeed be inappropriate.

Recall that Algonquian words fall into two basic classes: declinable and indeclinable. The declinable class contains nominals and verbs, with the former category including both nominal content words (nouns) and nominal function words (pronouns and demonstratives). Nouns and verbs have been extensively studied, but the class of pronouns and demonstratives is less well understood. This class includes personal pronouns (e.g. *nîn* 'I/me/my'), indefinite pronouns (e.g. *tshekuân* 'what/something'), and demonstratives (e.g. *ne* 'that'). Although pronouns and demonstratives are declinable, they share certain properties with particles, and the boundary between the two classes is in fact unclear.[2] Chapter 3 surveys the properties of pronouns and demonstratives so that they may be distinguished from particles in a principled way.

In addition to pronouns and demonstratives, Innu-aimun has another distinct class of declinable function words. The words in this class (e.g. *eukuan* 'it is this/that,' *namaieu* 'it is not') differ from other classes in two ways: they share grammatical properties with conjunctions, demonstratives, and verbs, and they obligatorily create cleft sentences. Due to the latter property, I refer to this class as CLEFTING WORDS. Despite their grammatical distinctiveness, clefting words are rarely recognized as a separate class, likely because many of them overlap with other categories. As with pronouns and demonstratives, it is necessary to have some understanding of the properties of clefting words in order to appropriately distinguish them from particles. Clefting words are therefore examined in Chapter 4.

After examining these two declinable categories, the thesis turns to the large group of indeclinable particles, which fall into a number of grammatically distinct subgroups.

[2]Locative words like *anite* 'there,' for example, are often regarded as adverbs, but have also been analyzed as demonstratives (Cyr 1993a).

Chapter 5 surveys the class of particles that occur inside the noun phrase.[3] I use the cover term ADNOMINAL PARTICLES for this class, which includes adjectives (e.g. *tâpishkû* 'same') and quantifiers (e.g. *kassinû* 'all,' *patetât* 'five').

The next class, PREPOSITIONS, contains particles that may take a noun phrase as their complement. In Innu-aimun, two distinct classes of particles serve this function. Locative prepositions (e.g. *shekᵘ* 'under') take a locative NP complement and, in doing so, serve to establish a spatial relation. Functional prepositions (e.g. *miâm* 'like') take a non-locative NP complement and serve to establish specific grammatical constructions. Prepositions are examined in Chapter 6, where they are distinguished from several other categories that may also denote spatial relations: locative demonstratives, locative nouns, and spatial adverbs.

The class of ADVERBS, particles that modify non-nominal constituents, is described in Chapter 7. Adverbs may be classified based on their syntactic distribution—whether they modify a verb phrase (VP adverb), a clause (sentence adverb), or another particle (degree modifier). Alternatively, if we focus on their semantics rather than their grammar, adverbs may be divided into circumstantial adverbs (e.g. *nânikutinî* 'sometimes,' *mamen* 'here and there,' *metinû* 'slowly'), degree adverbs (e.g. *apishîsh* 'a little'), and modal adverbs (e.g. *tâpue* 'truly').

Chapter 8 examines the remaining classes of particles: focus particles, question particles, negators, conjunctions, and interjections. FOCUS PARTICLES (e.g. *mukᵘ* 'only') combine with a constituent in order to focus it. QUESTION PARTICLES (e.g. *â*, *mâ*) form yes-no questions. NEGATORS (e.g. *apû* 'not') serve to negate a constituent or a clause. The

[3]Here I use "noun phrase" (NP) in the traditional sense, meaning all the words that accompany a noun and are dependent upon it. In contemporary generative syntax, the traditional noun phrase is instead known as a "determiner phrase" (DP).

somewhat complex class of CONJUNCTIONS, which contains particles that link two constituents, may be divided into three subclasses: COORDINATORS (e.g. *mâk* 'and'), which link equivalent constituents, SUBORDINATORS (e.g. *pâtush* 'until'), which create subordinate clauses, and CONJUNCTIVE ADVERBS (e.g. *eshpa* 'however'), which link a sentence with the preceding discourse. Finally, the class of INTERJECTIONS contains particles that can stand alone as non-elliptical utterances (e.g. *ehe* 'yes,' *kuei* 'hello').

This classification scheme is summarized in Figure 2.1, while Figure 2.2 uses simple tree diagrams to schematically represent the syntactic positions in which the major classes of particles usually occur.[4] These diagrams are intended only as a pre-theoretical overview of the grammar of particles; subsequent chapters will provide representations that are more detailed and theoretically sophisticated. As well, the word order implied by the diagrams should not be taken as rigid; it is only the dependency relations that are important.[5]

2.3. DISTINGUISHING PARTICLES AND PREVERBS. The preceding discussion has outlined how the various classes of particles differ from one another, but a final distinction remains to be made: particles must be distinguished from preverbs. It is not usually difficult to distinguish the two classes. Although both contain indeclinable elements, their distribution is mutually exclusive. Preverbs occur only between the person prefix and the verb stem, forming what is known as the COMPOUND VERB (Wolfart 1967), while particles may occur anywhere in the sentence except this position. That is, preverbs must be part of the verb complex while particles must be outside it.

[4]For the sake of simplicity, complete X-bar syntactic structures are not drawn in these trees; rather, modifiers and specifiers are both represented by adjunction: [$_{XP}$ Modifier XP], [$_{XP}$ Specifier XP].

[5]So, for example, FP represents both [$_{FP}$ F NP] and [$_{FP}$ NP F].

- Declinable
  - Nominals
    - Nouns
    - Pronouns/demonstratives
      - Personal pronouns
      - Indefinite pronouns
      - Demonstratives
  - Clefting words (have properties of conjunctions, demonstratives, and verbs)
  - Verbs
- Indeclinable (particles)
  - Adnominal particles (within the NP)
    - Adjectives (modify N)
    - Quantifiers (quantify N)
  - Prepositions (can take NP as complement)
    - Locative prepositions (locative NP complement)
    - Functional prepositions (non-locative NP complement)
  - Adverbs (modify non-nominal constituent)
    - Semantic classes: circumstantial, degree, modal
    - Syntactic classes: VP adverb, sentence adverb, degree modifier
  - Focus particles (focus any constituent)
  - Question particles (form yes-no questions)
  - Negators (negate constituent)
  - Conjunctions (link constituents)
    - Coordinators (link equivalent constituents)
    - Subordinators (create subordinate clauses)
    - Conjunctive adverbs (link sentence with preceding discourse)
  - Interjections (stand alone as non-elliptical utterances)

FIGURE 2.1. Overview of Innu-aimun parts of speech

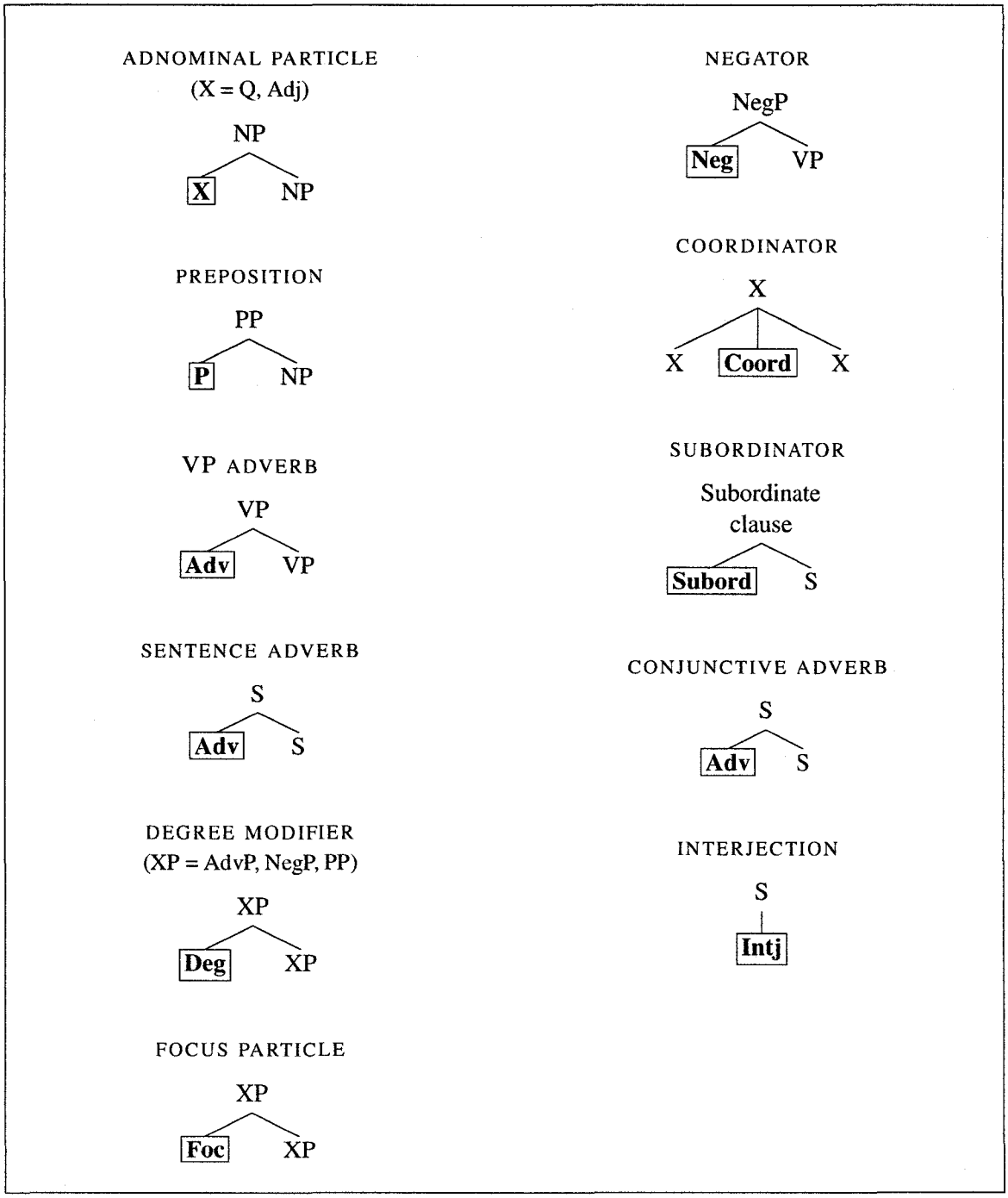


FIGURE 2.2. Overview of syntactic positions occupied by particles

The reality, unfortunately, is not as clear-cut as the above definition implies. As Bloomfield (1946: 103) recognizes for Algonquian in general, particles may sometimes appear inside the compound verb, separating the preverb from the verb stem. Wolfart, writing about Plains Cree, characterizes this position as "the loosest point of linkage," where "other material is occasionally inserted" (1967: 4–5). In the Innu-aimun sentence in (3), for example, the adverb *minekâsh* intervenes between the preverb *tshî* and the verb stem.

(3) *Apû tshî* ***minekâsh*** *nûkushiân.*
NEG ABIL long.time be.visible.CONJ.1S
'I cannot show myself [for long].' (LITP 1-5-027)

In fact, not only particles, but even nouns may appear in this position, as *utshimâua* 'chief' does in the following example:

(4) [...] *shûkᵘ uâ* ***utshimâua*** *nâtâukushit?*
really VOLIT chief.3′ be.met.CONJ.3S
'[...] since he really wants the chief to come fetch him?' (LITP 3-2-053)

In exceptional cases, then, the preverb need not be adjacent to the verb stem, as for *tshî* and *uâ* in (3) and (4).

A more serious complication is that some items have properties of both preverbs and particles. For example, an item may frequently appear between the person prefix and the verb stem, implying that it is a preverb, while also appearing in positions distant from the verb, implying that it is a particle. This blurring of category boundaries is not surprising, as Pentland (2005) documents a widespread tendency, evident since the Proto-Algonquian period, for items to migrate between the two classes.

This section examines several such uncertain cases in Innu-aimun, deciding whether they are best seen as preverbs, particles, or items that belong to both categories. The items in question are of uncertain status for various reasons: some have behaviour that straddles class boundaries, some are not referred to as preverbs in standard sources (e.g. Clarke and MacKenzie 2007), and some do not have the CV or CVCV shape that is characteristic of preverbs (Bannister 2004). The six items examined here are (1) *tshetshî*, (2) *kâtshî*, (3) *nîtâ*, (4) *pet*, (5) *ût*, and (6) *ishpish*. Those that are determined to have exclusively preverb properties will not be discussed further in this thesis.

2.3.1. IRREALIS PREVERB *TSHETSHÎ*. As Clarke et al. (1993) observe, *tshetshî* is actually a combination of two preverbs: the future preverb *tshe* (the changed form of *ka*) plus the preverb *tshî*.[6] Its core meaning is that of irrealis modality. Although Clarke (1982) refers to *tshetshî* as a complementizer, it actually occurs in both complement clauses and adverbial clauses. In complement clauses, it marks the event as unrealized, as in (5a), or as an indirect polar question (Clarke et al. 1993). In adverbial clauses, it creates a purpose clause reading, as in (5b). For clarity, subordinate clauses are enclosed in brackets in these examples.

(5) a. *Eukuannû kâ natûtâk Mishtâpeu* [***tshetshî*** *itâkanit*].
it.is.3′S IC.PERF hunt.CONJ.3S Mishtapeu IRREAL say.3S
'That is what Mishtapeu was looking for her to say.' (LITP 4-3-177)

[6]Note that Innu-aimun has two distinct *tshî* preverbs. One has perfective meaning and the other signifies potentiality or ability. According to Clarke et al. (1993), either of these preverbs could be the *tshî* in *tshetshî*. Also note that I am treating *tshetshî* as a distinct lexical item derived from the fusion of *tshe* and *tshî*. It is equally possible that Innu-aimun speakers still regard *tshetshî* as an analyzable sequence of two preverbs, in which case the discussion in this section would be moot.

b. [...] *itûtâtishû* *anite* [***tshetshî*** *apishunitî*].
carry.things.3S the.LOC IRREAL warm.up.CONJ.3′
'He carried his things there so they would warm up.' (LITP 2-1-008)

The LITP texts contain 29 examples of *tshetshî*. The contexts in which these examples occur are listed in Table 2.1. For the most part, *tshetshî* seems to have the distribution of a preverb: in all but three examples, it directly precedes the verb (or the compound verb, if another preverb is present). Furthermore, in the three exceptional examples, the intervening element is the negator *ekâ*, which has a well-attested tendency to intervene between certain preverbs and the verb stem.[7] Based on the LITP data, then, it seems most appropriate to assign *tshetshî* to the class of preverbs.

Another useful indicator of an item's status as a preverb is its ability to occur between the person-marking prefix and the verb stem. This diagnostic is not available for *tshetshî*,

TABLE 2.1. Occurrences of *tshetshî* in the LITP texts

Context	N	%
tshetshî immediately precedes the (compound) verb		
complement clause [$_{CL}$ *tshetshî* + V...]	14	48%
adverbial clause [$_{CL}$ *tshetshî* + V...]	11	38%
tshetshî separated from the (compound) verb by *ekâ*		
complement clause [$_{CL}$ *tshetshî* + *ekâ* + V...]	1	3%
adverbial clause [$_{CL}$ *tshetshî* + *ekâ* + V...]	2	7%
False start	1	3%
TOTAL	29	

[7]See Section 8.3.2 for further discussion.

however. As a changed form, *tshetshî* occurs only with conjunct-inflected verbs, which do not carry person-marking prefixes.[8]

2.3.2. COMPLETIVE ASPECT PREVERB *KÂTSHÎ*. Like *tshetshî*, *kâtshî* is a combination of two preverbs: the perfective preverb *kâ* (the changed form of *tshî*) plus the preverb *tshî* (Clarke et al. 1993). *Kâtshî* marks the subordinate clause event as being completed at the time of the main clause event. A clause marked by *kâtshî* is typically translated into English using an *after*-clause, as in (6).

(6) [***Kâtshî*** *nipâiât* *nenua* *mashkua*], *peminutîshut.*
after kill.CONJ.3>3′ that.3′ bear.3′ IC.cook.REFL.CONJ.3S
'After she killed the bear, she cooked for herself.' (LITP 2-2-006)

Although its English equivalent is the subordinating conjunction *after*, *kâtshî* appears to be a preverb. Its distribution in the LITP texts is summarized in Table 2.2. In 92% of its occurrences, *kâtshî* directly precedes the (compound) verb. In several of these examples, it occurs clause-medially, following one of the verb's nominal arguments, as in (7).

(7) *Ekᵘ* [*kassinû* ***kâtshî*** *aiât* *tshekuânnû*], *ekᵘ* *shûnashkuâtaimu.*
then all after buy.CONJ.3S something then skate.3S
'Then after he bought everything, then he went skating.' (LITP 4-2-063)

This clause-medial placement is more consistent with an analysis of *kâtshî* as a preverb than a conjunction, since conjunctions typically precede or follow their associated clause rather than occurring in the middle of it. Based on this evidence, I classify *kâtshî* as a

[8]Since *tshetshî* never occurs after a person-marking prefix, it may be susceptible to reanalysis as a particle. For further discussion of this possibility, as well as evidence that certain speakers may indeed have reanalyzed *tshetshî* as a subordinating conjunction, see Section 8.4.3.

TABLE 2.2. Occurrences of *kâtshî* in the LITP texts

Context	N	%
kâtshî immediately precedes (compound) verb		
clause-initial [$_{CL}$ *kâtshî* + V...]	78	84%
clause-medial [$_{CL}$ N + *kâtshî* + V...]	7	8%
kâtshî separated from verb by nominal and/or particle		
clause-initial [$_{CL}$ *kâtshî* + Particle/N + V...]	3	3%
false start/incomplete sentence	5	5%
TOTAL	93	

preverb. The small residue of cases in which a particle or a nominal intervenes between *kâtshî* and the verb are likely due to the insertion of external material in the "loose point of linkage" as discussed by Wolfart (1967).[9]

Rather than saying that *kâtshî* means 'after,' it may be more accurate to characterize its meaning as COMPLETIVE ASPECT, an aspectual category used to represent completed events (Cinque 1999). This meaning is more consistent with that of the canonical preverbs, which typically encode tense, aspect, or modality. If *kâtshî* is indeed a completive aspect preverb, a more literal translation of example (7) would be 'Once having bought everything, he then went skating.'

2.3.3. PREVERB/ADVERB *NÎTÂ* 'EVER.' *Nîtâ*, which means 'ever,' seems to behave as both a preverb and a particle.[10] In the LITP texts (see Table 2.3), it most often directly

[9]However, *kâtshî*, like *tshetshî*, occurs only in subordinate clauses, and therefore never co-occurs with a person prefix. As with *tshetshî*, this creates a possible pathway for category change, potentially leading to the reanalysis of *kâtshî* as a particle. See Section 8.4.4 for further discussion.

[10]For evidence that *nîtâ* should be seen as meaning 'ever' rather than 'never,' see Section 7.1.1.

TABLE 2.3. Occurrences of *nîtâ* in the LITP texts

Context	N	%
nîtâ immediately precedes (compound) verb		
precedes verb (*nîtâ* + V)	22	56%
precedes verb, follows preverb (Prv + *nîtâ* + V)	7	18%
nîtâ does not immediately precede verb		
separated by particle/nominal (*nîtâ* + Particle/N + V)	8	21%
separated by particle but follows preverb (Prv + *nîtâ* + Particle + V)	1	3%
follows verb (V + *nîtâ*)	1	3%
TOTAL	39	

precedes the (complex) verb. In several examples, it even comes between a preverb and the verb, as in (8), where it occurs after the preverb *tshika*.

(8) *Apû mînuât tshika* ***nîtâ*** *itâshpinet auen tshetshî*
NEG again 3.FUT ever die.so.CONJ.3S someone IRREAL
kâtshît.
die.of.cold.CONJ.3S
'Never again will a person freeze to death.' (LITP 2-1-032)

The repeated occurrence of *nîtâ* inside the compound verb is strong evidence that it can act as a preverb. However, it may also be separated from the verb by intervening material, as in (9). Such examples occur more frequently than for *tshetshî* and *kâtshî*.

(9) *"Apû* ***nîtâ*** *tshekuân nipâtâin," nitikû.*
NEG ever something kill.CONJ.2S say.3>1
'"You never kill anything," he said to me.' (LITP 4-2-098)

In one case, *nîtâ* even follows the verb, which preverbs cannot do:

(10) *Apû tshî nipâiâkanit* ***nîtâ.***
NEG ABIL be.killed.CONJ.3P ever
'They can never be killed.' (LITP 3-1-094)

In light of this evidence, it seems that *nîtâ* must be a member of both the class of preverbs and the class of particles (more specifically, the class of adverbs, described in Chapter 7).

2.3.4. PREVERB/ADVERB *PET* 'HERE.' Like *nîtâ*, *pet* ('here' or 'towards') seems to be both a preverb and an adverb. Its distribution in the LITP texts is provided in Table 2.4. It occurs most often immediately before the verb, as in (11).

(11) *"Mâte* ***pet*** *uepin tshitashtish," itikû.*
well.then here throw.IMP 2.mitten say.3′>3
'"There, now throw your mitten this way," she said.' (LITP 3-1-070)

It intervenes between a preverb and the verb stem in several examples, such as (12).

(12) *"Tshe* ***pet*** *mitimein meshkanau," itikû.*
IC.FUT here follow.path.CONJ.2S path say.3′>3
'"Just follow the tracks here," he said to him.' (LITP 1-4-138)

This data confirms that *pet* can act as a preverb. However, in several examples it appears in an additional position: immediately following the verb, as in (13).

(13) *Uiâpamât pietutenitî* ***pet*** *atîkua.*
IC.see.CONJ.3>3′ IC.approach.CONJ.3′ here caribou.3′
'He saw the caribou coming forwards towards him.' (LITP 2-7-015)

TABLE 2.4. Occurrences of *pet* in the LITP texts

Context	N	%
pet immediately precedes (compound) verb		
precedes verb (*pet* + V)	25	69%
precedes verb, follows preverb/prefix (Prv + *pet* + V)	4	11%
pet does not immediately precede verb		
separated by particle(s) (*pet* + Particle(s) + V)	1	3%
immediately follows verb (V + *pet*)	5	14%
sentence-final, after nominal (N + *pet*)	1	3%
TOTAL	36	

Examples such as (13) suggest that *pet* may function as an adverb in addition to being a preverb. Its tendency to immediately follow the verb suggests that adverbial *pet* may retain some phonological link with the verb as a vestige of its status as a preverb. Additional data would be needed in order to pursue this speculation, however.

2.3.5. ABLATIVE PREVERB/PREPOSITION *ÛT*. Together with its changed form *uet*, which occurs in environments where a changed conjunct verb is required, *ût* contributes the idea that the event in question originates from a certain source. The source is normally understood in relation with another element, usually a locative expression in the same sentence, as in (14a–b).

(14) a. *Ekute tshe* ***ût*** *kutapepanîuiân.*
it.LOC.is IC.FUT from descend.CONJ.1S
'Here is where I will go under.'
(lit. 'where I will descend from') (LITP 1-5-034)

b. *Mînuât nete kueshte* ***uet*** *shâkâshkuaik.*
again that.LOC other.side IC.from come.from.woods.CONJ.3S
'Again, he came around from the other side of the woods.' (LITP 1-4-146)

The source need not be a location, however. *Ût* may also be used to express the reason for an event—the MOTIVATIONAL SOURCE, in Frawley's (1992) terms. *Ût/uet* may express the motivational source on its own, as in (15a), or as part of the expressions *tshekuân uet* 'why' (lit. 'what is it from,' (15b)) and *eukuan uet* 'that's why' (lit. 'it is from that,' (15c)).

(15) a. *Nâsht apû tshissenimak anite nipâ* ***ût*** *utauâssîmin.*
really NEG know.CONJ.1S the.LOC 1.SHOULD from have.child.1S
'I really don't know who might have made me pregnant.'
(lit. 'where I could be pregnant from') (LITP 3-5-009)

b. *Tshekuân* ***uet*** *tshîtûtein?*
what.is.it IC.from leave.CONJ.2S
'Why did you leave?' (LITP 4-3-204)

c. *"Eukuan* ***uet*** *mâmâkâpiân," iteu.*
it.is IC.from have.big.eyes.CONJ.1S say.3S
'"It is because of this that I have big eyes," he said.'
(lit. 'This is what I have big eyes from.') (LITP 4-4-010)

There is strong evidence that *ût*, in the above function, is a preverb: it has a changed form (*uet*), it can occur inside other preverbs (as in (15a)), and it is rarely separated from the verb by intervening material (see Table 2.5 for the LITP data). When separation does occur, the intervening element is usually a negator, which, as mentioned in the discussion of *tshetshî* above, is an established pattern that also occurs with canonical preverbs.

Aside from these preverbal examples, however, *ût* has an additional function: it can act as a locative preposition, still carrying 'source' as its core meaning. As a locative

TABLE 2.5. Occurrences of *ût* and *uet* in the LITP texts

a. OCCURRENCES OF *ût*

Context	N	%
ût immediately precedes (compound) verb		
precedes verb (*ût* + V)	9	26%
precedes verb, follows preverb/prefix (Prv + *ût* + V)	17	50%
ût does not immediately precede verb		
separated by negator but follows preverb (Prv + *ût* + Neg + V)	2	6%
in prepositional phrase (Dem + *ût* (+ N))	6	18%
TOTAL	34	

b. OCCURRENCES OF *uet*

Context	N	%
uet immediately precedes (compound) verb (*uet* + V)	52	83%
uet does not immediately precede verb		
separated by negator (*uet* + Neg + V)	7	11%
separated by other particle (*uet* + Particle + V)	1	2%
false start	3	5%
TOTAL	63	

preposition, *ût* may be preceded by a locative demonstrative (e.g. *anite* 'the.LOC') and followed by a locative noun, as illustrated in (16). This behaviour is exactly like that of canonical locative prepositions such as *shekᵘ* 'under,' discussed in Section 6.3.1.

(16) *Ekᵘ tâpue nûtshikuâkanit* [PP *anite* ***ût*** *ishpimît*].
then indeed be.bothered.CONJ.3S [PP the.LOC from above.LOC]
'Then, indeed, he was tormented from above.' (LITP 1-3-031)

The locative noun following *ût* is optional, as illustrated in (17); again, this is a property shared with canonical locative prepositions, discussed further in Section 6.3.1.

(17) *Tepuâtâkanû* [PP *anite* ***ût***].
be.called.3S [PP the.LOC from]
'He was being called to from there.' (LITP 3-3-021)

Note that the prepositional function is performed only by *ût*, not by *uet*. This pattern makes sense considering that *uet*, the changed form, should be available only within the compound verb, not within a prepositional phrase.

2.3.6. PREVERB OF EXTENT *ISHPISH*. Along with its changed form *eshpish*, *ishpish* marks the verb as denoting an event or state with a certain duration or extent, as in (18).

(18) *Eukuan* ***eshpish*** *tshissenimak.*
it.is IC.extent know.CONJ.1>3
'That is as much as I know.' (LITP 2-1-035)

Ishpish is semantically similar to the relative preverb *ishi* 'thus, in this way' and appears to be built from the same root. The existence of the changed form is strong evidence that

ishpish is a preverb, since initial change applies only to members of the compound verb. In addition, *ishpish* may intervene between a preverb and the verb stem, as in (19).

(19) *Nîsh" eukuan tshe* ***ishpish*** *uînîn.*
two it.is IC.FUT extent mention.CONJ.2>1
'Twice is how many times you will mention me.' (LITP 1-8-032)

The preverb analysis is challenged, however, by a small number of examples in which material separates *ishpish/eshpish* from the verb, as in (20).

(20) *Mînuât ekue tshîtûtet, mînuât* ***eshpish*** *anite tât.*
again then leave.CONJ.3S again IC.extent the.LOC be.CONJ.3S
'Again he took off, again while he was there.' (LITP 1-4-032)

However, the proportion of such examples is quite low (see Table 2.6). Furthermore, *ishpish* and *eshpish* never occur after the verb (unlike *nîtâ* and *pet*) or in construction with other elements (unlike *ût*). For these reasons, I conclude that *ishpish* is indeed a preverb, and that the intervening material in examples like (20) is likely due to "loose zone" insertion as discussed above.

2.3.7. CONCLUSION—DISTINGUISHING PARTICLES AND PREVERBS. This section has classified the items of unclear status as follows: *tshetshî*, *kâtshî*, and *ishpish* are preverbs, *nîtâ* and *pet* function as both preverbs and adverbs, and *ût* functions as both a preverb and a locative preposition. These tentative conclusions could easily change with deeper study, which is certainly warranted. However, as this thesis is concerned mainly with particles, not preverbs, the matter will not be discussed further here.

TABLE 2.6. Occurrences of *ishpish* and *eshpish* in the LITP texts

a. OCCURRENCES OF *ishpish*

Context	N	%
ishpish immediately precedes (compound) verb		
precedes verb (*ishpish* + V)	1	13%
precedes verb, follows preverb (Prv + *ishpish* + V)	3	38%
ishpish does not immediately precede verb		
separated by particle *mâ* (*ishpish* + *mâ* + V)	1	13%
separated by nominal but follows preverb (Prv + *ishpish* + N + V)	1	13%
false start	2	25%
TOTAL	8	

b. OCCURRENCES OF *eshpish*

Context	N	%
eshpish immediately precedes verb (*eshpish* + V)	49	84%
eshpish does not immediately precede verb		
separated by negator (*eshpish* + Neg + V)	2	3%
separated by nominal/other particle(s) (*eshpish* + N/Particle(s) + V)	7	12%
TOTAL	58	

CHAPTER 3

PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

The class of pronouns and demonstratives is determined by three criteria. Its members (1) are function words, (2) occur within the noun phrase, and (3) fall into inflectional paradigms. The third criterion, inflection, is important, as the first two criteria identify a broader class that includes not only pronouns and demonstratives, but also adnominal particles such as quantifiers and numerals (the subject of Chapter 5).

These three criteria actually identify a slightly larger class than the traditional group of pronouns and demonstratives—they also include the word *kutak* 'other.' The fact that *kutak* belongs to this class makes the term "pronouns and demonstratives" somewhat misleading. A more precise term for the class is NOMINAL FUNCTION WORDS; that is, the subset of nominals that are function words. I use this term in contexts that require its rigor, but I also continue to use the term "pronouns and demonstratives" as a less technical equivalent when it will not cause misunderstanding.

It is important to distinguish between the two syntactic roles that nominal function words may perform. They may occur ADNOMINALLY, accompanying and agreeing with a noun (as *nenua* does in (1a)), or they may occur PRONOMINALLY, standing alone as an independent noun phrase (as *nenua* does in (1b)).

(1) a. *Pieshuâpamât, ekᵘ apû tânitî* [NP ***nenua*** *utânisha*].
IC.near.CONJ.3>3′ then NEG be.CONJ.3′ [NP that.3′ 3.daughter.3′]
'When he got close, however, his daughter was no longer there.'
(lit. 'that daughter of his') (LITP 1-3-030)

b. *Ashuâpameu* [NP ***nenua***], *kushteu tshetshî nâshâukut.*
wait.for.3>3′ [NP that.3′] fear.3>3′ IRREAL swim.after.CONJ.3′>3
'He waited for him, because he was afraid that he might have been followed.'
(LITP 1-4-039)

Algonquianists often use the term "pronoun" to refer to the entire class of nominal function words.[1] In this thesis, however, the term is used in a more restricted sense, referring only to those nominal function words that exclusively occur in pronominal roles. Under this definition, Innu-aimun has two classes of pronouns: personal pronouns (§3.1) and indefinite pronouns (§3.2).

In addition to these two classes of pronouns, Innu-aimun has two classes of nominal function words that may typically occur in both pronominal and adnominal roles. There is a large set of demonstratives (§3.3), which are analyzed here as determiners, as well as the one-member class *kutak* (§3.4), which is analyzed as an adjective.

3.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. Personal pronouns, which are marked for person and number, perform the same grammatical functions that a full noun phrase does. Example (2a) shows the personal pronouns *nîn* 'I' and *tshîn* 'you' occurring as subjects, while example (2b) shows *nîn* occurring as a possessor.

[1] Pentland (2000) and Goddard (2003), for example, refer to demonstratives as "demonstrative pronouns."

(2) a. ***Nîn*** *minâush kâtshî pimûteiân,* *ek"* ***tshîn*** *tshiminu-aiâtshin.*
1S barely after walk.CONJ.1S then 2S 2.well.move.around.2S
'After I could hardly walk, you could still move around well.'
(LITP 2-2-037)

b. *Eukuannîshapan* ***nîn*** *nutâpân.*
it.is.EVID.PRET.3S 1S 1.car
'(It turns out that) that was my car.' (WO 4-7-1)

Built from the root *în-*, personal pronouns carry prefixes and suffixes that are almost identical to the inflection of a possessed noun.[2] The personal pronoun paradigm is compared with the possessed noun paradigm in Table 3.1. Note that two first-person plural forms exist: the EXCLUSIVE (*nînân*, 'we, not including you') and the INCLUSIVE (*tshînân(û)*, 'we, including you') (Clarke 1982).

TABLE 3.1. Personal pronoun paradigm compared with possessed noun paradigm

		Personal pronoun			Possessed noun (*mashinaikan* 'book')		
Sg	1	*n-*	*în*		*ni-*	*mashinaikan*	
	2	*tsh-*	*în*		*tshi-*	*mashinaikan*	
	3	*u-*	*în*		*u-*	*mashinaikan*	
Pl	1	*n-*	*în*	*-ân*	*ni-*	*mashinaikan*	*-nân*
	21	*tsh-*	*în*	*-ân(û)*	*tshi-*	*mashinaikan*	*-nân/-nû*
	2	*tsh-*	*în*	*-uâu*	*tshi-*	*mashinaikan*	*-uâu*
	3	*u-*	*în*	*-uâu*	*u-*	*mashinaikan*	*-uâu*

[2]Bloomfield (1946: 116) states, for Proto-Algonquian, that "[a] set of personal pronouns is based on a suffix *-iil-* with prefixes." Although the ancestral *-iil-* is a suffix, I refer to Innu-aimun *în-* as a root because there is no obvious synchronic reason to call it a suffix.

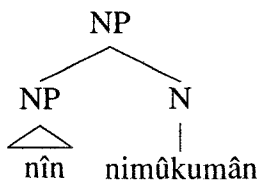
The use of personal pronouns is optional. The obligatory person/number inflection on nouns and verbs conveys exactly the same information as personal pronouns do, identifying the person and number of a noun's possessor and a verb's subject and object. Grammatically, then, personal pronouns are redundant. Their function is a pragmatic one: they serve to emphasize or reinforce the information carried by the person/number inflection (Cyr 1996b). This emphatic function is particularly apparent in the examples in (3).[3]

(3) a. *Tân,* ***nîn*** *nimâtenimâtî,* *iteu.*
how 1S 1.be.aware.of.PRET.1>3 say.3>3′
How so, I myself was aware of him, he said. (LITP 3-3-031)

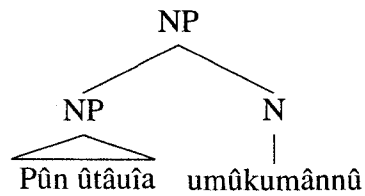
b. [...] *ek*^{u} ***uîn*** *etûtet.*
then 3S IC.go.by.foot.CONJ.3S
[...] Then, he (himself) left. (LITP 2-5-012)

As personal pronouns occupy the same syntactic positions as regular noun phrases, the simplest analysis is to assume that they are NPs. The diagrams in (4) show the pronoun *nîn* occurring in the same position as the noun phrase *Pûn ûtâuîa* 'Paul's father.'

(4) a. *nîn nimûkumân* 'my knife'



b. *Pûn ûtâuîa umûkumânnû*
'Paul's father's knife'



An additional series of personal pronouns is derived by adding *-(n)îshtam* 'first' after the *în-* root, as in (5). (*Nîshtam* 'first' also occurs independently as an adverb.)

[3] *Uîn* also occurs as a focus particle, as discussed in Section 8.1.3.

(5) ***Uînîshtam*** *nikamû e tshishennîut.*
3S.first sing.3S as be.old.CONJ.3S
'He sang first because he was the eldest.' (LITP 1-5-080)

The *-(n)îshtam* forms of the personal pronouns are known as PRIORITATIVE PRONOUNS (Mailhot 2003).

3.2. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. The indefinite pronouns *auen* 'someone,' *tshekuen* 'someone,' and *tshekuân* 'something' inflect for gender, number, and obviation as illustrated in Table 3.2 (Clarke 1982). Indefinite pronouns occupy the same syntactic positions as nouns do, with one exception: they may not be the first word in the sentence. In this position, *auen*, *tshekuen*, and *tshekuân* are interpreted as interrogatives and behave as clefting words, as explained in Chapter 4. An example of indefinite *auen* is provided in (6).

(6) *Mueu anite mishtikua* ***auen*** *nuâpamâu.*
eat.3>3′ the.LOC tree.3′ someone 1.see.1>3
'I saw someone eating a tree there.' (LITP 1-4-013)

TABLE 3.2. Indefinite pronouns

Animate	3S	*tshekuen / auen*
	3P	*tshekuenitshenat / auenitshenat*
	3′	*tshekuenua / auenua*
Inanimate	3S	*tshekuân*
	3P	*tshekuâna*
	3′S	*tshekuânnû*
	3′P	*tshekuânua*

When an indefinite pronoun occurs within the scope of a quantifier (e.g. *kassinû* 'all/every') or a negator (e.g. *apû* 'not'), the resulting meaning is equivalent to that of English compound indefinites such as *everything*, *anything*, or *nothing*. In (7a), for example, *kassinû tshekuânnû* is translated as 'everything,' while in (7b), *apû... tshekuânnû* is translated as '(not) anything.'

(7) a. ***Kassinû tshekuânnû*** *kanauenitamuât ne Tshîushuâss.*
all something.3′S own.3>3′ that Tshiushuass
'Tshiushuass had everything.' (LITP 3-5-069)

b. *Pipimûteuat,* ***apû*** *nîtâ* ***tshekuânnû*** *uâpâtâhk.*
REDUP.walk.3P NEG never something.3′S see.CONJ.3>3′
'They were walking along and they didn't see anything.' (LITP 1-7-009)

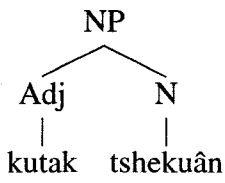
Indefinite pronouns may also be modified by adjectives such as *kutak* 'other,' as in (8).[4]

(8) ***Kutak tshekuân*** *ninatueniten.*
other something want.1S
'I want something else.' (lit. 'another something') (WO 1-7-4, 3-3-15)

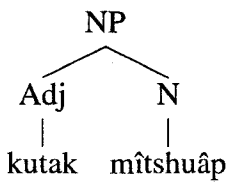
Since indefinite pronouns may, like nouns, be accompanied by quantifiers and adjectives, it is reasonable to assume that they have the same syntactic status as nouns. This equivalent status is illustrated in the diagrams in (9), which show the indefinite pronoun *tshekuân* as occupying the same position as the noun *mîtshuâp* 'tent.'

[4]Use of the term "adjective" is explained in the discussion of *kutak* below (§3.4).

(9) a. *kutak tshekuân* 'something else'



b. *kutak mîtshuâp* 'the other tent'



Note that this representation differs from the one suggested for personal pronouns in (4). Personal pronouns were represented as NP because they are never accompanied by modifiers; they are complete, in themselves, as noun phrases. Indefinite pronouns, on the other hand, are represented as N because they may combine with modifiers to form an NP. This analysis recognizes that the two classes of pronouns differ slightly in their syntactic status: personal pronouns act as "pro-NPs" while indefinite pronouns act as "pro-Ns."

3.3. DEMONSTRATIVES. Demonstratives are nominal function words that encode degrees of distance from the speaker.[5] Innu-aimun has a large set of demonstratives, as illustrated in Table 3.3. The following discussion of demonstratives first examines the degrees of distance in the demonstrative paradigm (§3.3.1), then describes the morphology and syntax of demonstratives (§3.3.2), and finally explains the reasons for including locative demonstratives, often seen as adverbs, in the demonstrative paradigm (§3.3.3).

3.3.1. DEGREES OF DISTANCE. As Table 3.3 shows, there is a series of demonstratives for each of the following degrees of distance: proximal, neutral, distal, remote,

[5]The historical development of demonstratives is discussed for Cree by Pentland (2000) and for Algonquian in general by Proulx (1988) and Goddard (2003).

TABLE 3.3. Demonstratives attested in Sheshatshiu Innu-aimun

		DEGREE OF DISTANCE						
		Proximal	Neutral	Distal	Remote	Inaccess.	Hesit.	Interrog.
Anim.	3S	*ume*	*an*	*ne*	*nauashî*	*nânâ*	*ai*	*tânen*
	3P	*umetshenat*	*anitshenat*	*netshenat*	*nauatshenat*			*tânitshenat*
	3′	*umenua*		*nenua*		*nekâni*		*tânenua*
Inan.	3S	*ume*	*an*	*ne(me)*			*ai*	*tânen*
	3′S	*umenû*		*ne(me)nû*			*ainû*	*tânennû*
	3/3′P	*umenua*		*ne(me)nua*			*ainua*	*tânenua*
Loc.	EXT	*ute*	*anite*	*nete*	*niâte, nâute*			*tânite*
	RESTR	*uta*	*anita*	*neta*				*tânita*

NOTE: The demonstratives in this table are drawn from existing research, from the LITP, and from my fieldwork. There are numerous gaps in the table. Some are likely due to insufficient data, while others may reflect true gaps in the demonstrative paradigm.

and inaccessible. There is also a series of hesitation demonstratives, which indicate mental inaccessibility, as well an interrogative series.

The three most commonly used degrees of distance are proximal (the *u*-series), neutral (the *an*-series), and distal (the *ne*-series), exemplified in (10). These three series are found throughout the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi continuum (Junker and MacKenzie 2003).[6] The proximal series denotes a distance that is relatively close to the speaker, as in English *here* and *this*, while the distal series denotes a relatively far distance, as in *that* and *there*. The neutral series has weak demonstrative force, often equivalent to *the* or *it*.

(10) a. *Mishta-takuepanîu* ***ume*** *nûshkuânâpuî.*
very-be.peppery.3S this soup
'This soup is really peppery.' (WO 5-1-15)

b. *"Tâssikanashteu* ***an,"*** *iteu.*
be.split.hooved.3S it say.3>3′
'"It has split hooves," he said to him.' (LITP 1-4-129)

c. ***Ne*** *tshishtûkan nipîtshenân anûtshîsh.*
that door 1.go.inside.1P now
'We're coming in through THAT door now.' (WO 4-3-18)

In this thesis, proximal demonstratives are glossed as 'this,' distals are glossed as 'that,' and neutrals are glossed as either 'the,' 'it,' or 'that' depending on which best fits the context.

Regarding the distal series, Clarke (1982: 38) notes that the inanimate distal demonstrative may occur as either *ne* or *neme*, and that for some speakers, *neme* represents a further distance than *ne*. I have placed the *neme* forms in the *ne* column because of their morpho-

[6]With Cyr (1993a), I label the *ne*-series as distal. Junker and MacKenzie (2003) instead label it as remote, reflecting its Proto-Algonquian value (Proulx 1988), and refer to the *an*-series as distal.

logical similarity. It should also be noted that in casual speech, *nenu* and *nenua* are often pronounced as *nu* and *na* respectively.

Beyond the three primary series, there are two further degrees of distance: remote and inaccessible. The remote demonstratives *nauashî* and *nauatshenat* are noted by Clarke (1982: 38), while the remote locative *niâte* occurs several times in the LITP.[7] The inaccessible demonstratives denote a distance that is out of the speaker's sight, or, by extension, "a dead person, a legendary being, or a past event" (Cyr 1993a). Only two forms from this series are attested in the LITP texts.

Cyr (1993a) argues that the hesitation pronoun *ai* should also be included in the demonstrative paradigm. The hesitation pronoun is used as a placeholder for a noun that cannot be recalled, as in (11).

(11) *Kapatâkan ishinîkâteu* ***ainû*** *tshiâ Kâiâkuâpishkâsht ishinîkâteu tshiâ?*
portage be.called.3S HES is.it? wall.of.rocks be.called3S is.it?
'The portage is named uh... right? It's named the Wall of Rocks, right?'

(LITP 2-5-001)

Historically, the hesitation pronoun derives from a demonstrative stem (Proulx 1988). Furthermore, it inflects in much the same way as the other demonstratives. (Cyr even identifies locative forms of the hesitation pronoun in Betsiamites Innu-aimun.) The meaning of the hesitation pronoun is also consistent with that of a demonstrative, as it denotes a degree of distance from the speaker. The distance, in this case, is of a metalinguistic nature: the name of the entity in question is denoted as being inaccessible to the speaker.

[7]Cyr (1993a) provides a somewhat more complete remote series for Betsiamites Innu-aimun.

The final series in the demonstrative paradigm is the set of interrogative demonstratives, which form questions as in (12).

(12) ***Tânen*** *tshîn* *uâ* *utinamin?*
which you IC.VOLIT take.CONJ.2S
'Which one would *you* like to have?' (WO 4-3-15)

Like other interrogative words, the interrogative demonstratives pattern syntactically as clefting words and are therefore discussed further in Chapter 4.

3.3.2. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF DEMONSTRATIVES. Demonstratives inflect for gender, number, and obviation, as well as locative case, which is discussed in the following section. As exemplified for *nenua* in (1) above, demonstratives may occur both pronominally and adnominally. When they occur pronominally, demonstratives have the same syntactic distribution as full noun phrases. When they occur adnominally, demonstratives typically immediately precede the noun.[8] It is possible, however, for the demonstrative to be separated from the noun it occurs with, as in (13), creating a discontinuous dependency.[9]

(13) ***Nenua*** *kutâueu* ***mishtikua.***
that.3′ knock.down.3>3′ tree.3′
'He knocked down the tree.' (LITP 1-6-061)

Certain demonstratives also commonly occur in the construction labelled "nominal predication" by Déchaine (1997), as in (14).

[8]Cyr (1993a) argues that demonstratives preceding the noun are in fact best analyzed as definite articles.
[9]Such discontinuous dependencies are discussed further in Section 6.2.2.

(14) *Nishtesh* ***an.***
1.older.brother that
'That's my older brother.' (Clarke 1982: 38)

In such constructions, the demonstrative must follow the noun (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 10).[10] Déchaine (1997) provides a detailed analysis of similar nominal predication examples in Plains Cree.[11] This predicative function is especially common for *an*.

As noted above, the distribution of demonstratives differs from the distribution of pronouns. While pronouns always occur pronominally, demonstratives may occur both pronominally and adnominally, as illustrated in (1), repeated here as (15). In (15a), *nenua* occurs adnominally, accompanying and agreeing with the noun *utânisha*, while in (15b), *nenua* occurs alone as a noun pharase.

(15) a. *Pieshuâpamât, ekᵘ apû tânitî* [$_{NP}$ ***nenua*** *utânisha*].
IC.near.CONJ.3>3′ then NEG be.CONJ.3′ [$_{NP}$ that.3′ 3.daughter.3′]
'When he got close, however, his daughter was no longer there.'
(lit. 'that daughter of his') (LITP 1-3-030)

b. *Ashuâpameu* [$_{NP}$ ***nenua***], *kushteu tshetshî nâshâukut.*
wait.for.3>3′ [$_{NP}$ that.3′] fear.3>3′ IRREAL swim.after.CONJ.3′>3
'He waited for him, because he was afraid that he might have been followed.'
(LITP 1-4-039)

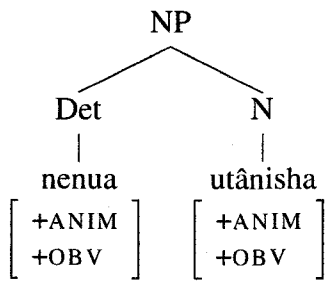
Adnominal occurrences of demonstratives may be straightforwardly analyzed as determiners. The diagram in (16) illustrates how this analysis applies to the bolded NP in (15a).

[10]In the LITP texts, another word, *au*, is often used in the same context as *an* in (14). *Au* appears to have a plural form *auat*, suggesting that it is also a pronoun or demonstrative, but there are too few examples to be certain. It may instead be a focus particle.

[11]The properties of post-nominal demonstratives in Cree have also been studied by Reinholtz (2003).

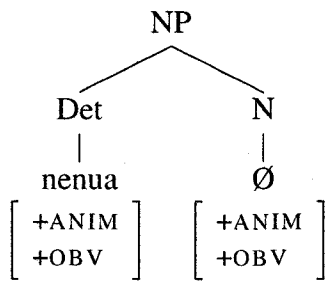
Note that as a dependent of the head noun, the demonstrative agrees with it for gender, obviation, and number as applicable.

(16) *nenua utânisha* 'that daughter/those daughters'[12]



The determiner analysis accounts for the fact that demonstratives can occur adnominally, which pronouns, as N/NP categories, cannot do. But recall that demonstratives can also occur pronominally, as in (15b). The determiner analysis can be extended to account for the pronominal occurrence of demonstratives if a phonologically null element is permitted to occupy the N position, as in (17).[13]

(17) *nenua* 'that (one)/those (ones)'



[12]Obviative animate nouns such as *utânisha* are not specified for number.

[13]It is common for analyses of polysynthetic languages to posit the existence of null (or "zero") nouns in argument positions (e.g. Baker 1996).

As the lone overt member of an NP, the demonstrative represented in (17) will appear to have the syntactic distribution of a full NP while in fact still occupying the same Det position that adnominal demonstratives occupy.[14]

3.3.3. LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVES. The locative demonstratives (e.g. *ute* 'here,' *nete* 'there,' etc.) are often regarded as adverbs, as in, for example, Clarke 1982. I argue here that this classification is incorrect. A range of grammatical evidence indicates that the locative demonstratives have the same nominal nature as regular demonstratives like *ume* 'this' and *ne* 'that.' The locative demonstratives, I argue, should be included in the demonstrative paradigm and regarded as nothing more than regular demonstratives marked for locative case. Under this analysis, locative *nete* and non-locative *ne* have exactly the same relationship as the locative noun *mîtshuâpît* 'in the house' and the non-locative noun *mîtshuâp* 'house.'[15]

This view is not a new one. Cyr (1993a) argues the same point by making an analogy with other languages. German and Finnish, she points out, both have oblique demonstratives, and no one would reasonably consider excluding them from the paradigm of inflected demonstratives. The locative demonstratives in Innu-aimun, she argues, should get exactly the same treatment.

[14]Since the work of Abney (1987), most generative syntacticians regard the traditional noun phrase as actually being a "determiner phrase" (DP). The DP approach is theoretically preferable, as it can account for both types of demonstratives without requiring a null N. However, as the traditional term "noun phrase" is very convenient for the descriptive purposes of this thesis, I have decided to use NP structures rather than the more sophisticated DP structures. For more theoretical purposes, it is a straightforward matter to convert the NPs used here into DPs.

[15]For further discussion of why the locative suffix may be analyzed as locative case, see Section 6.2.1.

There is a range of grammatical evidence in favour of analyzing the locative demonstratives as functional nominals that belong to the demonstrative paradigm. Consider first that their syntactic patterning may be characterized in exactly the same terms as the non-locative demonstratives. Like non-locative demonstratives, they may occur either adnominally or pronominally. When they occur adnominally, they usually precede the noun they modify, just as the other demonstratives do:

(18) [$_{NP}$ ***Nete*** *minishtikût*] *ishitshîmeu.*
[$_{NP}$ that.LOC island.LOC] paddle.3S
'He paddled to the island.' (LITP 1-3-028)

Also, as was illustrated for the non-locative demonstratives in (13) above, the locative demonstratives may occasionally be separated from the noun they modify, forming a discontinuous constituent as in (19).

(19) *Ek^{u} teuâht, ek^{u} uînuâu* ***anite*** *etâht* ***mîtshuâpît.***
then play.ball.CONJ.3P then 3P the.LOC IC.be.CONJ.3P tent.LOC
'Then they were playing ball, and they stayed inside the tent.' (LITP 2-7-062)

Recall that when they occur pronominally, the non-locative demonstratives have the same syntactic distribution as a full noun phrase. An analogous correspondence holds for the locative demonstratives. When they occur alone, as in (20), they have the same syntactic distribution as a full locative noun phrase.

(20) *Ek^{u} etâht* ***anite.***
then IC.be.CONJ.3P the.LOC
'There they stayed.' (LITP 2-7-075)

These syntactic similarities indicate the feasiblity of analyzing locative demonstratives as equivalents of the non-locative demonstratives. Strong evidence in favour of such an analysis comes from the fact that non-locative and locative demonstratives are in complementary distribution, occurring in mutually exclusive environments. Non-locative demonstratives accompany non-locative nouns, as in (21), while locative demonstratives accompany locative nouns, as in (22).

(21) Non-locative demonstrative and noun

a. ***Ne minishtik*** *kushtikuan.*
that island be.dangerous.3S
'That island is dangerous.' (WO 3-5-35)

b. *Tshîtshue tshishennîunâkuan* ***ne utâpân.***
really seem.old.3S that car
'That car seems really old.' (WO 3-5-37)

(22) Locative demonstrative and noun

a. *Nimânukâshuîtân* ***nete minishtikut.***
1.set.up.camp.PRET.1P that.LOC island.LOC
'We went camping on that island.' (WO 3-5-36)

b. ***Anite utâpânit*** *nimîtshishûtân.*
that.LOC car.LOC 1.eat.PRET.1P
'We ate in that car.' (WO 3-5-38)

This complementary distribution is exactly the behaviour we would expect from grammatically-conditioned variants of a single category. As further evidence that locative and non-locative demonstratives occur in mutually exclusive environments, consider that a single noun may not be accompanied by both types of demonstratives. The pattern shown

in (23), for example, in which a locative noun is accompanied by both locative and non-locative demonstratives, is consistently and firmly judged by speakers to be ungrammatical.

(23) Locative and non-locative demonstratives together

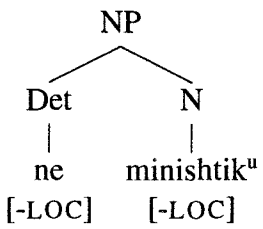
a. **Nimânukâshuîtân* ***nete*** ***ne*** ***minishtikut.***
1.set.up.camp.PRET.1P that.LOC that island.LOC
'We went camping on that island.' (WO 3-5-36)

b. ****Anite*** ***ne*** ***utâpânit*** *nimîtshishûtân.*
that.LOC that car.LOC 1.eat.PRET.1P
'We ate in that car.' (WO 3-5-38)

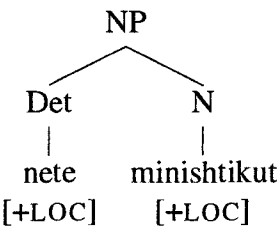
If *anite* and *nete* were adverbs meaning 'there,' it would be difficult to explain why they are in complementary distribution with demonstratives like *ne* 'that,' as there is no *a priori* reason why an adverb should not be able to occur next to a demonstrative. The adverbial analysis predicts that the bolded portions in (23) should be acceptable and should mean 'there on that island' and 'there in that car.' The ungrammaticality of the examples in (23) shows that this prediction is incorrect.

The demonstrative analysis, on the other hand, correctly and straightforwardly predicts the ungrammaticality of the examples in (23). Under this analysis, *ne* and *nete* both occupy the same position within the noun phrase, as illustrated in (24). Note that the demonstrative agrees with the noun for case just as non-locative demonstratives agree with the noun for gender, number, and obviation.

(24) a.



b.



The ungrammaticality of the examples in (23) follows directly from these structures. Since any demonstrative that modifies the locative noun *minishtikut* in (23a) must agree with it, the use of *ne*, a non-locative form, is consequently ungrammatical. Furthermore, since there is only a single demonstrative position in a noun phrase, it is impossible for *minishtikut* to be accompanied by the two demonstratives *nete* and *ne* at once. This straightforward account, which requires nothing more than allowing *nete* to follow the same principles as typical demonstratives like *ne*, would be unavailable if we analyzed *nete* as an adverb.

Generally, in fact, the demonstrative analysis is more straightforward and intuitive than the adverbial analysis. Consider that locative nouns are almost always accompanied by locative demonstratives, and, as Section 6.2.2 discusses, there are certain syntactic environments in which this accompaniment is obligatory. It would be unusual for an adverb to have such a high rate of co-occurrence with a noun, and even more unusual for this co-occurrence to be grammatically enforced. For a determiner, however, such a situation is normal.

This syntactic evidence in favour of regarding *anite*, *nete*, etc. as members of the demonstrative paradigm is supplemented by an obvious morphological correspondence: the locative demonstratives are transparently derived from the demonstrative roots *u*, *an*, and *ne* by the addition of the concrete finals *-ite* and *-ita* (Wolfart 1973: 70). While it is true that the locative demonstratives do not carry inflectional affixes, this does not disqual-

ify them from membership in the demonstrative paradigm. Keep in mind that inflectional paradigms may contain suppletive elements that bear no obvious morphological relation to the root (e.g. English *be~is~am*). If such suppletive forms can still be part of the same paradigm, then it is certainly reasonable to place *an* with *anite*, *ne* with *nete*, and so on.[16]

One could object to the demonstrative analysis by pointing out that *anite* behaves like an adverb in sentences like (25).

(25) *Tshietshishepâushinit* *ekᵘ* *uenaitshepanit* ***anite.***
IC.be.morning.CONJ.3′ then IC.set.trap.CONJ.3S the.LOC
'When it was morning, he built a trap there.' (LITP 2-9-025)

In (25), *anite* does indeed behave adverbially, modifying the verb much as the adverbial clause *tshîetshishepâushinit* 'when it was morning' does. This adverbial behaviour, however, does not mean that *anite* is an adverb. Recall that when locative demonstratives function pronominally, as in (25), they have the same syntactic distribution as a full locative noun phrase. Importantly, locative noun phrases, unlike non-locative noun phrases, are syntactically oblique and may act as verb modifiers, as in (26).

(26) *Mishtikua* *nenua* *nânâtuâkameuat* ***anite*** ***shâkaikanit.***
tree.3′ that3′ REDUP.break.in.two.3>3′ the.LOC lake.LOC
'They (beavers) are chewing down trees, there at the lake.' (LITP 1-4-046)

Here, the locative noun phrase *anite shâkaikanit* modifies the verb *nânâtuâkameuat.* This ability to act in an adverbial capacity is, cross-linguistically, a typical property of nouns inflected in so-called "adverbial" or "semantic" cases (Schütze 2001: 209), of which the

[16]Alternatively, Cyr (1993a), suggests that the *-ite* final has been reanalyzed as a locative inflectional suffix because of its similarity with the nominal locative suffix *-ît.*

locative case is typically a member. The adverbial role played by *anite* in (25) therefore does not imply that *anite* is an adverb any more than it implies the same for the locative noun *shâkaikanit* in (26). The adverbial behaviour of *anite* and *shâkaikanit* is exactly what is expected of a nominal in the locative case.

For all of the above reasons, I conclude that the locative demonstratives should be regarded as nominal function words with exactly the same status as the non-locative demonstratives, differing only in their value for [±LOC]. This conclusion may seem at odds with the typical idiomatic English translation of *nete* using the adverb *there*. Consider, however, the grammatical factors that underlie this translation. Perhaps the most literal gloss of *nete* is 'that.LOC'—a distal demonstrative in the locative case. The locative component of this gloss may be conveyed using an English preposition, providing the slightly more idiomatic translation 'at/to that.' However, this translation normally sounds clumsy because English can express the same idea using a single word, the composite demonstrative-locative adverb *there*. Even if the adverbial analysis of *nete* is rejected, then, *nete* can still be translated as *there* without contradiction; we must simply recognize that this is not the most literal translation possible.

In fact, the slightly more literal translation 'at/on that' occasionally seems more appropriate than the translation 'there,' as in (27).

(27) *Nimânukâshuîtân* ***nete*** ***minishtikut.***
1.pitch.tent.PRET.1P that.LOC island.LOC
'We went camping on that island.' (WO 3-5-36)

The demonstrative analysis predicts the availability of this alternative translation, since, as discussed above, 'at/on that' is actually more faithful to the literal meaning of *nete* than the

usual idiomatic translation 'there.' Under the adverbial analysis, which views *nete* simply as an adverb meaning 'there,' it would be difficult to explain why *there* is absent from the translation of (27).

The preceding discussion has thoroughly established the syntactic properties of the locative demonstratives, but some of their morphological aspects remain to be discussed. As the paradigm in Table 3.3 shows, the locative demonstratives come in two versions. The EXTENDED versions end in *-ite* and denote a general region, while the RESTRICTED versions end in *-ita* and denote a more specific point (using terminology from Proulx 1988).[17] The suffix *-hî/-he* derives emphatic forms of the locative demonstratives:

(28) a. *nete* 'there,' ***netehî*** 'right there' (Lab.)

b. *ute* 'here,' ***utehe*** 'right here' (Bets.)

Like the other interrogative demonstratives, the locative interrogatives *tânite* and *tânita* behave syntactically as clefting words and are therefore discussed further in Chapter 4.

3.4. *KUTAK* 'OTHER.' The final class of nominal function words contains only a single member, the word *kutak* 'other.' *Kutak* inflects for gender, number, and obviation as illustrated in Table 3.4. Although its inflectional paradigm is similar to that of the indefinite pronouns, *kutak* is not a member of that class, for it is neither exclusively indefinite nor exclusively pronominal. Example (29) illustrates that *kutak* may be interpreted either as indefinite ('another,' (29a)) or as definite ('the other,' (29b)).

[17] Junker and MacKenzie (2003) report that in East Cree, the restricted set tends to occur with static verbs like *sit* while the extended set occurs with verbs of movement like *go*. I was unable to confirm whether Innu-aimun locative demonstratives follow the same pattern.

TABLE 3.4. Forms of *kutak*

Animate	3	*kutak*
	3P	*kutakat*
	3′	*kutaka*
Inanimate	3	*kutak*
	3P	[*kutaka*]
	3′S	*kutakanû*
	3′P	[*kutakanua*]

(NOTE: Forms in brackets are not attested in the LITP, but are predicted based on other paradigms.)

(29) a. *"Nitânish," iteu, "mâ, mînuât* ***kutak*** *tshe takushinit!"*
1.daughter say.3>3′ hark again other IC.FUT arrive.CONJ.3S
"My daughter," he said, "hark, again another will arrive!" (LITP 3-4-047)

b. ***Kutakat*** *nânâtuâpiteuat upuîuâua.*
other.3P break.off.3>3′ 3.paddle.3P.3′
'The others broke off their paddles.' (LITP 4-3-440)

Example (30) illustrates that *kutak* may occur adnominally.[18]

(30) *Ekue matâshkût* ***kutakanû*** ***shakaikannû.***
then arrive.at.frozen.lake.CONJ.3S other.3′S lake.3′S
'Then she came to another lake.' (LITP 4-6-005)

As additional evidence against classifying *kutak* with the indefinite pronouns, consider example (31), in which *kutak* modifies the indefinite pronoun *tshekuân*.

[18]Since *kutak* may accompany a noun, I will not follow Junker and MacKenzie (2004), who call the East Cree cognate an "alternative pronoun." This use of the term "pronoun" must be understood in a watered-down sense equivalent to the use of "nominal function word" in this thesis.

(31) ***Kutak tshekuân*** *ninatueniten.*
other something want.1S
'I want something else.' (lit. 'another something') (WO 1-7-4, 3-3-15)

If *kutak* were an indefinite pronoun, it should be mutually exclusive with *tshekuân*, another member of the same class. Example (31) shows that this is not the case.

Since *kutak* may occur either pronominally or adnominally, it is tempting to classify it with the demonstratives, which have the same distribution. This classification, however, would be semantically inappropriate. Unlike the demonstratives, *kutak* does not encode a degree of distance from the speaker. Furthermore, just as *kutak* may co-occur with an indefinite pronoun, so may it co-occur with a demonstrative, as in (32). Since *kutak* is not mutually exclusive with demonstratives, it cannot be a member of the same class.

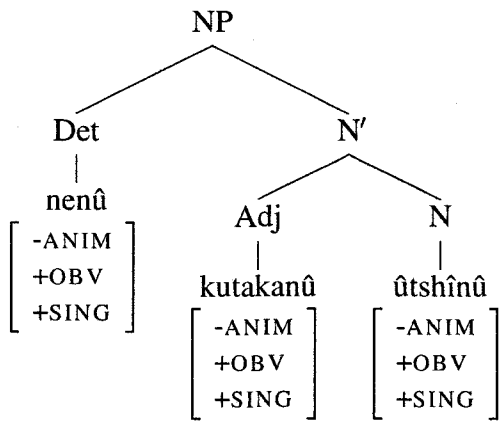
(32) a. *Ekᵘ itenimeuat* ***anitshenat kutakat uemishtikushuat:*** [...]
then think.3>3′ that.3P other.3P whiteman.3P
'Then the other white men thought: [...]' (LITP 1-9-002)

b. [...] *ekue âshûpaniht* ***nenû kutakanû ûtshînû.***
then cross.to.CONJ.3P that.3′S other.3′S mountain.3′S
'[...] so they crossed to the other mountain.' (LITP 1-7-042)

It seems, then, that *kutak* is neither a pronoun nor a demonstrative. Rather, it constitutes its own distinct subclass of nominal function words. Labelling this subclass is of secondary importance to recognizing its existence, especially considering that it appears to contain only one item. However, since labels do have practical value, I will refer to *kutak* as an ADJECTIVE, or, more specifically, a NOMINAL ADJECTIVE, to distinguish it from the PARTICLE ADJECTIVES discussed in Chapter 5. As an adjective, *kutak* occupies a position

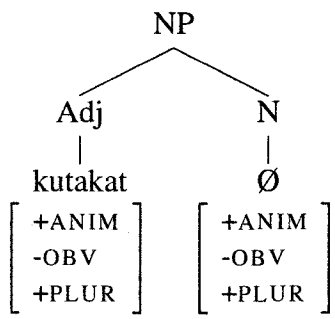
in the NP intermediate between Det and N, as illustrated in (33). Since it is declinable, it agrees with the head noun just as demonstratives do.

(33) *nenû kutakanû ûtshînû* 'the other mountain'



In cases where *kutak* occurs pronominally, it can be analyzed as modifying a null N along the same lines proposed for the demonstratives above:

(34) *kutakat* 'the others' (lit. 'the other (ones)')



Aside from its declinability, the nominal adjective *kutak* has the same properties as the more numerous particle adjectives described in Section 5.1. See this section for a more complete discussion of Innu-aimun adjectives, including an explanation of how the term

"adjective" should be understood, as Innu-aimun adjectives are a closed class of function words that differ significantly from prototypical English adjectives like *good* or *happy*.

3.5. CONCLUSION. Figure 3.1 summarizes the classification of nominal function words proposed in this chapter. The syntactic positions occupied by these classes are illustrated in Figure 3.2. The word order indicated by this figure is by far the most frequent order used in the LITP texts and in my fieldwork data. The fairly fluid syntax of Innu-aimun does, however, allow the constituents of the noun phrase to be re-ordered or even separated. A valuable topic for future research would be to examine the syntactic and pragmatic factors that condition such word order variation.

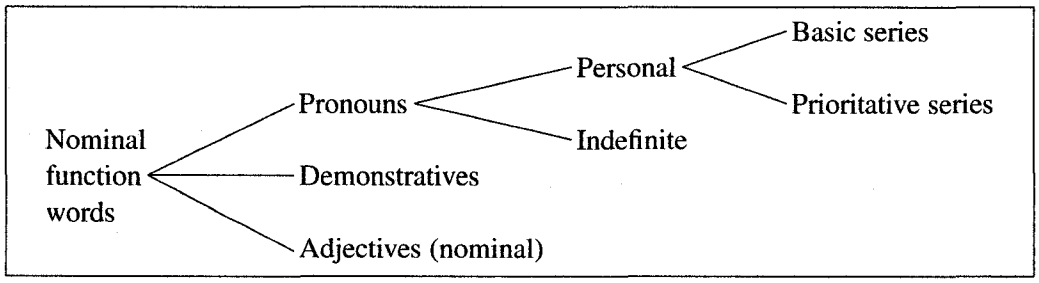


FIGURE 3.1. Classification of nominal function words

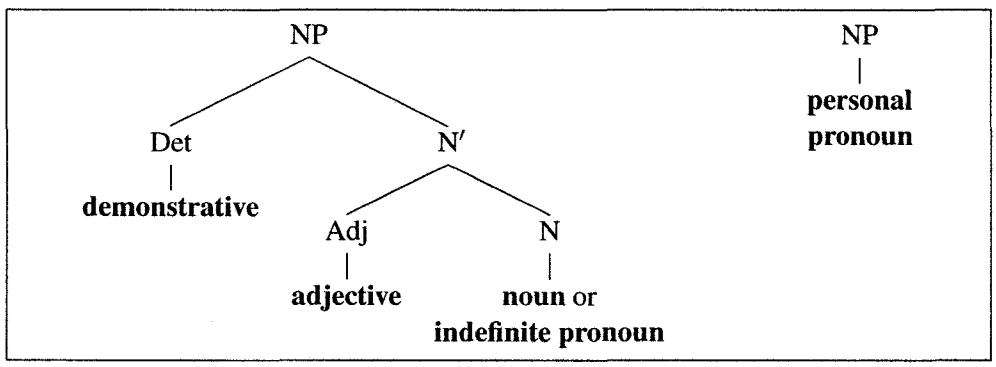


FIGURE 3.2. Syntactic positions occupied by nominal function words

CHAPTER 4

CLEFTING WORDS

Aside from the pronouns and demonstratives described in the preceding chapter, Innu-aimun has an additional class of declinable function words. The words in this class are distinguished from all other classes by the clefting structures they obligatorily create.[1] For this reason, I will refer to the class as CLEFTING WORDS.[2]

Despite their syntactic uniqueness, clefting words are not normally recognized as a distinct class. This is because most clefting words overlap with other categories—some also serve as pronouns while others can be identified as demonstratives or adverbs. There is, however, a small set of "core" clefting words that belong to no other class: *eukuan* 'it is this/that,' *namaieu* 'it is not,' *ekute* 'it is here/there,' and *namaieute* 'it is not here/there.' These four words embody the prototypical properties of the class of clefting words. Even if no other items shared these properties, it would still be necessary to recognize these four words as a distinct class in order to adequately describe the grammar of Innu-aimun.

Other items do, however, share their properties. Certain pronouns, demonstratives, adnominal particles, and adverbs may also act as clefting words. In their clefting use, these

[1]The nature of clefting structures is explained in Section 4.1.

[2]This non-traditional term is somewhat awkward, but its awkwardness may in fact be beneficial, as it calls attention to how distinct these words are. Their unique mixture of properties is not conveyed by any of the traditional part of speech labels.

words gain a set of properties that are quite different from the typical properties of their categories and are clearly similar to those of the core clefting words. We may view these "non-core" clefting words as belonging to two classes—they are members of the traditional categories that they are normally classified in, but they also have the ability to function as clefting words. Both classifications are equally valid. For practical purposes, the traditional classifications are likely more useful, but in order to fully understand the morphological and syntactic behaviour of these words, their status as clefting words must also be recognized.

While the core/non-core distinction is helpful for keeping track of the members of this class, it is not particularly useful as a basis for analyzing their grammar. For grammatical purposes, it is better to group the clefting words according to the type of constituent that they focus. Along these lines, three distinct groups of clefting words may be distinguished: (1) those that focus subject or object nominals, (2) those that focus oblique (i.e. locative) nominals, and (3) those that focus adnominal and adverbial expressions.

This chapter first provides a general introduction to clefting (§4.1) and then describes the three grammatical subgroups of Innu-aimun clefting words (§§4.2–4.4). The chapter concludes by suggesting some tentative avenues for the analysis of clefting words (§4.5).

4.1. THE NATURE OF CLEFT SENTENCES. In order to focus one of its constituents, a simple sentence like (1a) may be divided into two clauses, or CLEFTED, producing a CLEFT SENTENCE like those in (1b).

(1) a. Marie is looking for Paul.

b. (i) It is Marie that is looking for Paul.

(ii) It is Paul that Marie is looking for.

To form a cleft sentence, a constituent X is extracted from a simple sentence and placed in the clause *it is X*. The remainder of the original sentence then follows as a relative clause with a gap left behind by the extraction of X.[3] The structure of the examples in (1b) is illustrated in (2). In both cases, the focused constituent is understood as filling the gap in the relative clause.

(2) a. It is **Marie** [that ___ is looking for Paul].

b. It is **Paul** [that Marie is looking for ___].

The term "cleft" was coined by Jespersen (1949). Cleft sentences have been the topic of much syntactic research; see, for example, Akmajian 1970, Bolinger 1972, Chomsky 1977, Gundel 1977, and Hedberg 2000. Although clefting serves to place focus on a constituent, it must be noted that "clefting" is not simply a synonym for "focalization." Rather, clefting is a specific type of focalization that is carried out using a particular syntactic construction—namely, a bi-clausal structure with the focused element in the first clause. Aside from clefting, other types of focalization exist, such as those shown in (3). Clefting is distinct from these types of focalization as it involves not only the manipulation of word order, but also the creation of an additional clause.

(3) a. Marie is looking for PAUL.

b. Only Paul did Marie look for.

[3]The second clause in a cleft sentence is traditionally regarded as a relative clause (Jespersen 1949). Although subsequent research has cast doubt on this view (e.g. Rochemont 1986), the term "relative clause" is nevertheless commonly used for descriptive purposes and, indeed, in some theoretical work as well (e.g. by Hedberg (1990) and Lambrecht (2001), who both argue that cleft sentences do involve a relative clause). For convenience, this chapter also uses the term "relative clause."

Now that the basic properties of cleft sentences have been established, the remainder of the chapter describes the extensive resources used to create cleft sentences in Innu-aimun.

4.2. SUBJECT/OBJECT CLEFTING WORDS. Subject/object clefting words create clefts that focus subject or object nominals. The class of subject/object clefting words has four members. It contains two core clefting words: *eukuan* (§4.2.1) and *namaieu* (§4.2.2). It also contains two sets of non-core clefting words: the interrogatives *tshekuân* 'what is it' and *tshekuen/auen* 'who is it' (§4.2.3) and the personal pronouns (§4.2.4).

Before proceeding to examine subject/object clefting words in detail, first consider an example of each. A cleft sentence created using *eukuan* is shown in (4). In this sentence, the focused NP *nenû utâpânnû* 'that car' is understood as the object of the relative clause. For clarity, the focused constituent and the relative clause are enclosed in brackets here and in subsequent examples.

(4) ***Eukuannû*** *nenû* *utâpânnû* [$_{CL}$ *Shûshep* *ekâ* *menuâtâk*].
it.is.3′S that.3′S car.3′S [$_{CL}$ Joseph NEG IC.like.CONJ.3>3′]
'It's that car [$_{CL}$ that Joseph doesn't like].' (WO 3-4-26)

The same type of cleft structure, but with the initial clause negated, is created by *namaieu*:

(5) ***Namaieunû*** *nenû* *utâpânnû* [$_{CL}$ *kâ* *tshimutit* *Pûn*].
it.is.not.3′S that.3′S car.3′S [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF steal.CONJ.3 Paul].
'It's not that car [$_{CL}$ that Paul stole].' (WO 4-6-43)

The interrogatives *tshekuân*, *tshekuen*, and *auen* also create the same type of cleft structure, but with the initial clause turned into a *wh*-question:

(6) ***Tshekuânnû*** *nenû* [$_{CL}$ *Shûshep* *mînepan* *Mânîua*]*?*
what.is.it.3′S that.3′S [$_{CL}$ Joseph give.PRET.3>3′ Mary.3′]
'What is it [$_{CL}$ that Joseph gave Mary]?' (WO 6-1-9)

Finally, personal pronouns such as *nîn* 'I/me' and *tshîn* 'you' may also be used to establish a cleft structure, as in (7), where the focused first person is understood as the subject of the relative clause.

(7) ***Nînitshe*** [$_{CL}$ *kâ* *utinakâu* *tshitashtishat*].
it.is.1S.DUB [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF take.CONJ.1>3.PL 2.mitten.PL]
'It must be me [$_{CL}$ that took your mittens].' (José Mailhot, p.c.)

The cleft sentences in (4)–(7) all have the same basic structure. In each, the initial clause containing the clefting word is followed by a relative clause, which, as a subordinate clause, obligatorily contains a verb in the conjunct order.[4] Based on these examples alone, however, it may not be obvious that a clefting analysis is necessary. The need for a clefting analysis will become clearer as the following sections more thoroughly describe the properties of each subject/object clefting word.

4.2.1. *EUKUAN* 'IT IS THIS/THAT.' Before considering the syntax of the core clefting word *eukuan*, first note its morphological properties. *Eukuan* agrees with the focused NP for number, animacy, and obviation. Furthermore, it also inflects for tense and modality, as illustrated by the examples in (8). All subject/object clefting words inflect in this way.

[4]In fact, it is the *changed* conjunct form that generally occurs in such examples—the same form that is normally found in relative clauses (Clarke 1982: 139). Note that example (6) is an exception, as it contains an independent preterit form rather than a conjunct form. This substitution occurs because the conjunct order lacks the appropriate preterit paradigm, as discussed further in Section 8.3.2 (p. 262).

(8) a. ***Eukuannîtshe*** *nenû* *utâpânnû* [$_{CL}$ *kâ* *tshimutit* *Pûn*].
it.is.DUB.3′S that.3′S car.3′S [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF steal.CONJ.3 Paul].
'It might be that car [$_{CL}$ that Paul stole].' (WO 4-2-14)

b. ***Eukuannîkupan*** *nenû* *utâpânnû* [$_{CL}$ *kâ* *tshimutit* *Pûn*].
it.is.DUB.PRET.3′S that.3′S car.3′S [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF steal.CONJ.3 Paul].
'It might have been that car [$_{CL}$ that Paul stole].' (WO 4-7-10)

c. ***Eukuannîshapan*** *nenû* *utâpânnû* [$_{CL}$ *kâ* *tshimutit* *Pûn*].
it.is.EVID.PRET.3′S that.3′S car.3′S [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF steal.CONJ.3 Paul].
'(As it turns out,) it was that car [$_{CL}$ that Paul stole].' (WO 4-7-1)

The inflection carried by *eukuan* is much like that of AI and II verbs. Table 4.1 presents a portion of the *eukuan* paradigm as provided by one speaker of the Mashkuanu sub-dialect.[5] The clefting analysis easily explains the ability of *eukuan* to inflect for tense and modality. If *eukuan* is a clefting word meaning 'it is this/that,' then the notion conveyed in English by

TABLE 4.1. Forms of *eukuan*

		Indicative Neutral	Dubitative Neutral	Dubitative Preterit	Evidential Preterit
Anim.	3S	*eukuan*	*eukuanitshe*	*eukupan*	*eukuannîshapan*
	3P	*eukuanat*	*eukuanitshenat*	*eukupanat*	*eukuannîshapanat*
	3′	*eukuana*	*eukuannîtshenî*	*eukuannîkupanî*	*eukuannîshapanî*
Inan.	3S	*eukuan*	*eukuanitshe*	*eukupan*	*eukuannîshapan*
	3P	*eukuana*	*eukuannîtshenî*	*eukuannîkupanî*	*eukuannîshapanî*
	3′S	*eukuannû*	*eukuannîtshe*	*eukuannîkupan*	*eukuannîshapan*
	3′P	*eukuannua*	*eukuannîtshenî*	*eukuannîkupanî*	*eukuannîshapanî*

[5]This paradigm is not complete and has not been checked with other speakers. It is intended only as an illustration of the extensive range of inflection that subject/object clefting words may carry.

the copula *is*—a verbal notion—must be an essential component of the meaning of *eukuan*. Due to this verbal component, it is not surprising that *eukuan* can carry verbal inflection.

The syntax of *eukuan* was briefly illustrated in the previous section. *Eukuan* normally occurs sentence-initially followed by the focused NP and the relative clause, as in (9).[6]

(9) *Eukuan* [NP *ume mîtshuâp*] [CL *kâ uâuîtamitân*].
it.is [NP this house] [CL IC.PERF talk.about.CONJ.1>2]
'It's [NP this house] [CL that I talked to you about].' (WO 2-2-11)

Although *eukuan* is most often followed by a single NP, it appears that two NP positions are in fact available, as illustrated in (10).

(10) *Eukuannîshapan* [NP ***nenû***] [NP ***nenû utâpânnû***] [CL *kâ*
it.is.EVID.PRET.3'S [NP that.3'S] [NP that.3'S car.3'S] [CL IC.PERF
tshimutit Pûn].
steal.CONJ.3 Paul]
'(As it turns out,) [NP it] was [NP that car] [CL that Paul stole].' (WO 4-7-1)

Here, the second NP (*nenû utâpânnû*) is the focus of the cleft. The first NP (*nenû*) appears to be the subject of *eukuannîshapan*—equivalent to the expletive *it* subject of an English cleft sentence.[7] The consultant noted that example (10) would be used if the speaker wanted

[6]Note that the NP focused in an *eukuan*-cleft must either contain a demonstrative or be understood as demonstrative, a requirement whose motivations are discussed in Section 4.5 below.

[7]It may seem strange for a demonstrative to occur as the equivalent of non-referential *it*. However, some researchers have argued that the *it* found in English clefts is in fact referential and is therefore not an expletive at all (Bolinger 1972; Hedberg 2000). Note, as well, that in addition to *it*, the subject of an English cleft sentence may also be a demonstrative such as *that*, as shown in (i).

(i) That was the platoon sergeant that said that. (Hedberg 2000: 900)

Examples (10) and (i) seem quite similar. The extent of this similarity, however, remains to be determined, as further research is required in order to clarify the referential status of *nenû* in (10).

to be especially emphatic and precise. This indicates that the overt expression of the subject is for emphatic purposes, as discussed for personal pronouns in Section 3.1.

Although two nominal positions are available following *eukuan*, the use of overt nominals in these positions is optional. As just shown, the subject nominal is only overtly expressed for emphatic purposes. When the focused nominal is omitted, the focus of the cleft is understood from the context. In (11), for example, the focus is understood to refer to a point in time.

(11) *Eukuan* [$_{CL}$ *tshe* *kushpinânut*].
it.is [$_{CL}$ IC.FUT go.inland.INDEF.CONJ.3]
'It is time to go inland.'
(lit. 'It is (this time) [$_{CL}$ that people shall go inland]') (WO 4-1-8)

Eukuan may also optionally be preceded by a topicalized nominal, as in (12).

(12) ***Shûshep*** *eukuan* *an* [$_{CL}$ *uiâuînak*].
Jospeh it.is that [$_{CL}$ IC.talk.about.CONJ.1>3]
'Joseph$_i$, it's him$_i$ [$_{CL}$ that I'm talking about].' (WO 1-5-4)

There seem to be certain restrictions on when topicalization is possible. In particular, if *eukuan* is not followed by an overt nominal, topicalization seems to be disfavoured:

(13) ***Shûshep*** *eukuan* [$_{CL}$ *uîâuînak*].
Joseph it.is [$_{CL}$ IC.talk.about.CONJ.1>3]
'Joseph$_i$, it's him$_i$ [$_{CL}$ that I'm talking about].' (WO 1-5-4)

(Example (13) was rejected as ungrammatical by the consultant, who then offered (12) as an acceptable alternative.)

A template for *eukuan* sentences is provided in (14). The order of constituents indicated here is fairly rigid—an unusual occurrence in Innu-aimun.

(14) nominal + ***eukuan*** + demonstrative + nominal + clause
(topic) ('it is') (subject of *eukuan*) (focus of cleft)

In all examples presented to this point, the "clause" position indicated in (14) has been occupied by a subordinate clause containing a conjunct-inflected verb. There is another possibility, however: a noun may occupy this position, as in (15).

(15) *Eukuan ne ishkueu* ***nimish.***
it.is that woman 1.older.sister
'It's that woman that is my older sister.' (WO 5-1-1)

Example (15) is reminiscent of nominal predication structures such as the sentence in (16), which does not contain a verb; instead, the noun *nimish* acts as the predicate.[8]

(16) *Ne ishkueu* [$_{\text{PRED}}$ ***nimish***].
that woman [$_{\text{PRED}}$ 1.older.sister]
'That woman [$_{\text{PRED}}$ is my older sister].' (WO 5-1-1)

Cleft-sentence examples such as (15) may be analyzed as involving a predicate nominal as well. If so, then such examples are easily reconciled with more prototypical cleft sentences. We must simply recognize that the second clause of a cleft sentence may involve not only clausal predication (i.e. a typical subordinate clause), but also nominal predication (i.e. a

[8]See Déchaine 1997 for an analysis of nominal predication in Plains Cree. (Example (16) is somewhat different from the examples presented by Déchaine, however.)

predicate nominal). Examples of both types of cleft sentences are compared in (17). As indicated by the labelled brackets, both examples appear to share the same structure.[9]

(17) a. Cleft sentence—second clause is full subordinate clause

Eukuannîtshe [$_{NP}$ *nenû utâpânnû*] [$_{CL}$ *kâ tshimutit Pûn*].
it.is.DUB.3′S [$_{NP}$ that.3′S car.3′S] [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF steal.CONJ.3 Paul]

'It might be [$_{NP}$ that car] [$_{CL}$ that Paul stole].' (WO 4-7-18)

b. Cleft sentence–second "clause" is predicate nominal

Eukuan [$_{NP}$ *ne ishkueu*] [$_{CL}$ *nimish*].
it.is [$_{NP}$ that woman] [$_{CL}$ 1.older.sister]

'It's [$_{NP}$ that woman] [$_{CL}$ that is my older sister].' (WO 5-1-1)

Recall from example (11) above that the focused NP in an *eukuan*-cleft need not be overtly expressed. This is the case for clefts involving a predicate nominal as well, as exemplified in (18). As in (11), the focus of the cleft is understood from the context.

(18) *Eukuan* [$_{CL}$ *Pun*].
it.is [$_{CL}$ Paul]
'It's (that one) [$_{CL}$ that is Paul].' (more idiomatically: 'That's Paul.') (WO 4-2-4)

In addition to the focused NP, the second clause of the cleft sentence may also not be overtly expressed, as shown in (19). In such examples, the sentence is interpreted as though the second clause were a predicate nominal meaning 'it.'

(19) *Eukuan.*
it.is
'It's ([$_{NP}$ that one]) ([$_{CL}$ that is it]).' (more idiomatically: 'That's it.')

[9]The predicate nominal is labelled as a clause (CL) because it fills the clausal slot in the cleft sentence.

This concludes the discussion of *eukuan*. It should be noted, however, that Innu-aimun has another item, *e-*, which seems to share the morphological and syntactic properties of *eukuan*. The similarity of *eukuan* and *e-* is illustrated in example (20), in which both items carry the *-nîtshenî* suffix and occur in identical syntactic environments.

(20) a. ***Eukuannîtshenî*** *pût* *ukussa.*
it.is.DUB.3′ maybe 3.son.3′
'That might be his son.' (WO 4-2-14)

b. ***Enîtshenî*** *pût* *utishkuema.*
it.is.DUB.3′ maybe 3.wife.3′
'That might be his wife.' (WO 2-4-39)

Marguerite MacKenzie (p.c.) suggests that *e-* may be a dummy morpheme that serves as a host for the inflectional affixes that occur in the initial clause of the cleft sentence. In (20b), for example, *e-* may be inserted in order to host the *-nîtshenî* suffix. As evidence in favour of this analysis, consider that in examples that do not involve a suffix, *e-*, unlike *eukuan*, does not occur, as shown in (21b).

(21) a. ***Eukuan*** *Pun.*
it.is Paul
'That's Paul.'

b. ****E*** *Pun.*
it.is Paul
'That's Paul.'

The only relevant difference between the examples in (20) and (21) is the morphology: in (20), where both *eukuan* and *e-* may occur, a suffix is involved, while in (21), where *e-* cannot occur, no suffix is present. The non-occurrence of *e-* in uninflected forms supports the analysis of *e-* as a dummy morpheme that is inserted only when a suffix requires a host. However, as *e-* occurs infrequently in my data, this analysis is quite speculative.

4.2.2. *NAMAIEU* 'IT IS NOT.' Like *eukuan*, *namaieu* (normally pronounced as *maieu*) is a core clefting word. Grammatically, *namaieu* has the same properties as *eukuan*. It inflects for tense and modality in the same way and serves to establish cleft sentences that follow the template given for *eukuan* in (14). The difference between *eukuan* and *namaieu* is semantic: *namaieu*, unlike *eukuan*, creates a cleft sentence in which the initial clause is negated. In effect, then, *namaieu* may be seen as a negated version of *eukuan*. Examples of *namaieu* are provided in (22).

(22) a. ***Namaieunû*** [$_{NP}$ *nenû* *utâpânnû*] [$_{CL}$ *kâ* *tshimutit* *Pûn*].
it.is.not.3′S [$_{NP}$ that.3′S car.3′S] [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF steal.CONJ.3 Paul].
'It's not [$_{NP}$ that car] [$_{CL}$ that Paul stole].' (WO 4-6-43)

b. ***Namaieunîkupan*** [$_{NP}$ *nenu*] [$_{CL}$ *netuenitâk*].
it.is.not.DUB.PRET.3′S [$_{NP}$ that.3′S] [$_{CL}$ IC.ask.for.CONJ.3>3′]
'It might not have been [$_{NP}$ that one] [$_{CL}$ that he asked for].' (WO 4-4-22)

4.2.3. *TSHEKUÂN* 'WHAT IS IT?' AND *TSHEKUEN/AUEN* 'WHO IS IT?' In addition to the core clefting words *eukuan* and *namaieu*, the set of subject/object clefting words includes the non-core clefting words *tshekuân*, *tshekuen*, and *auen*, which also function as indefinite pronouns (§3.2). When they act as clefting words (or, in more traditional terms, as interrogative pronouns), they turn the initial clause of the cleft sentence into a *wh*-question. In their clefting capacity, they inflect for tense and modality just as *eukuan* and *namaieu* do, as shown in (23), where *tshekuân* carries the dubitative suffix *-nîtshe*. In this example, the focus of the cleft, 'what,' is understood as the object of the relative clause.

(23) ***"Tshekuânnîtshe*** [$_{CL}$ *eitit*]," *itenimeu ne nâpeu.*
what.is.it.DUB.3′S [$_{CL}$ IC.do.CONJ.3] think.3>3′ that man
'"What might it be [$_{CL}$ that she is doing]?" the man thought.' (LITP 4-1-010)

As was shown for *eukuan* in example (10) above, interrogative clefting words may be followed by a demonstrative that overtly expresses the subject of the initial clause of the cleft sentence, as in (24).

(24) *Tshekuânnû* ***nenû*** [$_{CL}$ *Shûshep mînepan Mânîua*]*?*
what.is.it.3′S that.3′S [$_{CL}$ Joseph give.PRET.3>3′ Mary.3′]
'What is **that** [$_{CL}$ that Joseph gave Mary]?' (WO 6-1-9)

Analyzing the interrogative pronouns as clefting words has three significant advantages over analyzing them as regular nominals that undergo *wh*-movement, the familiar pattern in languages like English and French. First, the clefting analysis straightforwardly explains why verbs in *wh*-questions obligatorily carry conjunct inflection.[10] If *wh*-questions are cleft sentences, then the verb is actually always in a relative clause, and relative clauses are a context in which conjunct forms are required. Furthermore, the clefting analysis explains why interrogatives are often immediately followed by a demonstrative (e.g. *Tshekuânnû* ***nenû*** in (24)). Under the clefting analysis, this demonstrative is the overtly-expressed subject of the clefting word. Finally, the clefting analysis explains why interrogative pronouns can be inflected for tense and modality, since, as discussed above, clefting words have a verb-like component and can therefore carry certain verbal inflections.

[10]As mentioned in footnote 4 (p. 80), there is one principled exception to this generalization: since Innu-aimun lacks a conjunct indicative preterit paradigm, independent indicative preterit forms are used in its place. This substitution occurs in example (24).

It is, in fact, not a new idea to analyze Algonquian direct *wh*-questions as involving bi-clausal structures. The approach was first articulated by Bloomfield (1946: 116), who states that "the interrogative pronouns are predicative, hence an accompanying verb is in conjunct or interrogative order." Wolfart (1973) views Plains Cree *wh*-questions as bi-clausal and Blain (1997) argues in detail that they are clefts. Similar arguments are made for Ojibwa by Johns (1982) and for Swampy Cree by Reinholtz and Russell (1995). This view is not universally held, however, as Brittain (1999) argues against a bi-clausal analysis of *wh*-questions in Western Naskapi. It would be worthwhile to compare and reconcile these analyses, especially considering that Innu-aimun interrogative pronouns can carry tense and modality, a fact that seems to militate in favour of a bi-clausal analysis. Due to space limitations, however, the issue will not be examined further in this thesis.

4.2.4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS AS CLEFTING WORDS. Personal pronouns (§3.1) may also serve as clefting words. In (25a), the personal pronoun *nîn* 'I/me' occurs sentence-initially bearing dubitative inflection and is understood as the subject of the following relative clause; in (25b), the personal pronoun *uînuâu* 'they/them' performs the same role.

(25) a. ***Nînitshe*** [$_{CL}$ *kâ* *utinakâu* *tshitashtishat*].
it.is.1S.DUB [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF take.CONJ.1>3.PL 2.mitten.PL]
'It must be me [$_{CL}$ that took your mittens].'

b. ***Uînuâushapan*** [$_{CL}$ *iâpashtâht* *nutâpânnû*].
it.is.3P.PRET.EVID [$_{CL}$ IC.use.CONJ.3P 1.car.3'S]
'It was apparently them [$_{CL}$ that used my car].' (José Mailhot, p.c.)

Both of these examples are from the dialect of Innu-aimun spoken on the Lower North Shore of Quebec. The extent to which such forms are used in Labrador has not yet been determined.

4.3. OBLIQUE CLEFTING WORDS. Oblique clefting words create clefts that focus oblique (i.e. locative) nominals. This class contains the core clefting words *ekute* 'it is there' and *namaieute* 'it is not there'[11] as well as the non-core clefting word *tânite* 'where is it,' which, due to its form, may also be seen as a member of the demonstrative paradigm.

The oblique clefting words *ekute*, *namaieute*, and *tânite* seem quite parallel with the subject/object clefting words *eukuan*, *namaieu*, and *tshekuân*. On analogy with the locative demonstratives, we may analyze the oblique clefting words as the locative case equivalents of the subject/object clefting words. This analysis is illustrated in Table 4.2. As with the locative case forms of the demonstratives, there is also a series of oblique clefting words ending in *-(i)ta*: *ekuta*, *namaieuta*, and *tânita*, which denote a more restricted region.

TABLE 4.2. Non-oblique and oblique clefting words

	Clefting word	
Cleft type	Non-oblique form (subject/object)	Oblique form (locative)
Affirmative	*eukuan*	*ekute*
Negative	*namaieu*	*namaieute*
Interrogative	*tshekuân, tshekuen, auen*	*tânite*

[11] Or *namaieukute* for some speakers, likely a contraction of *namaieu ekute*.

The syntax of the oblique clefting words is, broadly speaking, the same as that of their subject/object cousins. *Ekute*, *namaieute*, and *tânite* serve to establish cleft structures, as indicated by the fact that they are obligatorily followed by a subordinate clause. An example of the use of each oblique clefting word is provided in (26).

(26) a. ***Ekute*** [$_{CL}$ *uetshît* *Mânî*].
it.LOC.is [$_{CL}$ IC.come.from.CONJ.3 Marie]
'It's there [$_{CL}$ that Marie is from].' (WO 1-1-13)

b. ***Namaieute*** [$_{CL}$ *kâ* *itûteiâk^{u}*].
it.LOC.is.not [$_{CL}$ IC.PERF go.CONJ.21P]
'It's not there [$_{CL}$ that we went].' (WO 2-2-6)

c. ***Tanite*** [$_{CL}$ *uiâtshit* *Tânien*]*?*
what.LOC.is.it [$_{CL}$ IC.live.CONJ.3 Daniel]
'Where is it [$_{CL}$ that Daniel lives]?' (WO 4-1-34)

The oblique clefting words are often immediately followed by a demonstrative in the locative case, as in (27). This is a close parallel with the subject/object clefting words, which are also often followed by a demonstrative (e.g. *eukuan* ***an***, *tshekuânnû* ***nenû***). The demonstrative is chosen from the same series—extended or restricted—as the clefting word.

(27) a. ***Ekuta*** ***anita*** [$_{CL}$ *nânitam* *epît* *Pûn*].
it.LOC.is that.LOC [$_{CL}$ always IC.sit.CONJ.3 Paul]
'It's there [$_{CL}$ that Paul always sits].' (WO 1-12-23)

b. ***Namaieute*** ***anite*** [$_{CL}$ *uiâtshît*].
it.LOC.is.not that.LOC [$_{CL}$ IC.live.CONJ.3P]
'It's not there [$_{CL}$ that they live].' (WO 3-3-14)

c. ***Tânite*** ***anite*** [$_{CL}$ *Tânien* *niânataut* *mân*]*?*
what.LOC.is.it that.LOC [$_{CL}$ Daniel IC.REDUP.hunt.CONJ.3S often]
'Where is it [$_{CL}$ that Daniel often hunts]?' (WO 3-4-38)

In another similarity with the subject/object clefting words, an oblique clefting word may be preceded by a topicalized nominal, as in (28). As these examples indicate, the topicalized nominal need not be in the locative case.

(28) a. ***Ne*** ***minishtikᵘ*** *ekute* [$_{CL}$ *tshe* *kutikunîâkᵘ*].
that island it.LOC.is [$_{CL}$ IC.FUT camp.CONJ.21P]
'That island, it's there [$_{CL}$ that we will go camping].' (WO 3-1-21)

b. ***Ne*** ***mîtshuâp*** *ekute* [$_{CL}$ *Tânien* *etât*].
that house it.LOC.is [$_{CL}$ Daniel IC.be.CONJ.3S]
'That house, it's there [$_{CL}$ that Daniel stays].' (WO 2-2-3)

Although oblique clefting words are syntactically similar to their subject/object counterparts, their morphological properties differ. Recall that subject/object clefting words inflect for tense and modality much like verbs do. The oblique clefting words *ekute*, *namaieute*, and *tânite*, however, do not inflect at all. Why should this be the case? Recent developments in syntactic theory suggest a possible answer. In an influential series of papers, Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004, 2007) argue that subjects (and, to a lesser degree, objects) are intricately bound up with tense. Part of being a subject or an object, in their view, involves entering into a special relationship with the elements in the sentence that carry tense. Oblique nominals, on the other hand, do not have this connection with tense. From the viewpoint of Pesetsky and Torrego's theory, then, it is understandable that subject/object clefting words carry tense while oblique clefting words do not. Working out the details of an analysis along these lines would be an interesting topic for future research.

4.4. ADNOMINAL AND ADVERBIAL CLEFTING WORDS. The clefting words discussed to this point all create clefts that focus nominals. However, there is also a group of non-core clefting words that are related to non-nominal elements. This group contains the interrogative versions of certain demonstratives, quantifiers, and adverbs, as illustrated in the following examples.

(29) Interrogative demonstrative *tânen* 'which (one)'[12] (§3.3)

Tânen *an* *atimu* [$_{CL}$ *miâkumishk*]*?*
which that dog [$_{CL}$ IC.bite.CONJ.3>2]
'Which dog is it [$_{CL}$ that bit you]?' (WO 2-5-21, 4-3-7)

(30) Interrogative quantifier *tânitâtu* 'how many' (§5.2.1)

Tânitâtu *uâua* [$_{CL}$ *uâ* *âpashtâin*]*?*
how.many egg.3P [$_{CL}$ IC.VOLIT use.CONJ.2S]
'How many eggs is it [$_{CL}$ that you want to use]?' (WO 3-2-45)

(31) Interrogative adverbial quantifier *tânitâtuâu* 'how many times' (§5.2.3)

Tânitâtuâu [$_{CL}$ *tshîtshipâtâin*]*?*
how.many.times [$_{CL}$ go.away.CONJ.2S]
'How many times is it [$_{CL}$ that you went away]?' (WO 4-1-60)

[12]Note that the interrogative demonstrative *tânen* 'which (one)' has a close equivalent in the interrogative adjective *tshekᵘ* 'what sort' (§5.1.2). Unlike *tânen*, however, *tshekᵘ* appears not to act as a clefting word, at least not obligatorily. The same two speakers who each independently provided (29) also provided the following minimally different example, in which *tshekᵘ* is followed by a verb in the independent order:

(i) ***Tshekᵘ*** *atimᵘ* *tshimâkumikᵘ?*
which dog 2.bite.3>2
'Which dog bit you?' (i.e. what sort of dog) (WO 2-5-21, 4-3-7)

Since the verb is inflected in the independent order, it seems to be in a simple main clause rather than the relative clause found in clefting structures.

(32) Interrogative adverb *tân* 'how' (§7.1.1)

Tân [$_{CL}$ *eshinîkâshut*]*?*
how [$_{CL}$ IC.be.named.CONJ.3S]
'What is his/her name?'
(lit. 'How is it [$_{CL}$ that s/he is called]?') (Clarke 1982: 129)

The evidence for classifying the interrogative items in (29)–(31) as clefting words is somewhat weak. As far as my data indicates, these words do not inflect for tense. Furthermore, with the exception of *tânen*, they are not typically followed by demonstratives. They therefore lack two of the prototypical properties of clefting words. The primary reason why I have nevertheless analyzed them as clefting words is for symmetry with the analysis of interrogative pronouns. Recall from Section 4.2.3 that questions involving interrogative pronouns such as *tshekuân* require the verb to be in the conjunct order, and that this requirement follows naturally from the clefting analysis. Like *tshekuân*, the interrogatives in (29)–(32) are also obligatorily followed by a conjunct verb. In order to explain this requirement, it is most economical to assume that these interrogatives require a conjunct verb for the same reason as the interrogative pronouns do—that is, because they are clefting words.

Unfortunately, this justification is motivated solely by theory-internal considerations. As the interrogatives in (29)–(32) occur less frequently than the other words discussed in this chapter, evidence of their grammatical properties is correspondingly rarer. Further data is needed in order to confirm the extent to which they truly resemble the more clear-cut members of the class of clefting words.

4.5. THE GRAMMAR OF CLEFTING WORDS. Table 4.3 summarizes the properties of the words identified as clefting words in this chapter. For the non-core clefting words,

TABLE 4.3. Summary of clefting words

Cleft type	Clefting word	Carries tense?	Alternative classification
Subject/object	*eukuan*	yes	none (core clefting word, [-LOC, -NEG])
	namaieu	yes	none (core clefting word, [-LOC, +NEG])
	tshekuân	yes	pronoun, indefinite/interrogative
	nîn, etc.	yes	pronoun, personal
Oblique	*ekute*	no	none (core clefting word, [+LOC, -NEG])
	namaieute	no	none (core clefting word, [+LOC, +NEG])
	tânite	no	demonstrative, interrogative, [+LOC]
Adnominal	*tânen*	no	demonstrative, interrogative, [-LOC]
	tânitât^{u}	no	quantifier, interrogative
Adverbial	*tân*	no	adverb, interrogative
	tânitâtuâu	no	adverbial quantifier, interrogative

TABLE 4.4. Core clefting words

	Affirmative	Gloss	Negative	Gloss
Non-locative	*eukuan*	it.is	*namaieu*	it.is.not
Locative	*ekute*	it.LOC.is	*namaieute*	it.LOC.is.not

the table also lists the alternative traditional classification. Recall that the traditional classifications and the classification as clefting words are both appropriate, as they focus on different aspects of the words in question. The only clefting words with no alternative classification are the four core clefting words, which, for clarity, are repeated in Table 4.4.

In order to better understand how clefting words work, let us consider *eukuan* 'it is (this/that),' which is perhaps the most prototypical member of the class. How did *eukuan* come to be used as a clefting word? A clue to its origins comes from the related Southern East Cree dialect, which has *eukun* as the cognate of *eukuan*. Junker and MacKenzie (2003) note that *eukun* is a fused form—a combination of the particle *eukw*, which seems to have focusing properties, and the demonstrative *an*. In Southern East Cree, fused and non-fused combinations of *eukw* and *an* are both possible, and appear to be equivalent:

(33) a. *Eukw an.* 'That's the one.'

b. *Eukun.* 'That's the one.' (Junker and MacKenzie 2003: 212–213)

It is reasonable to assume that *eukuan*, the Innu-aimun equivalent of *eukun*, also results from the fusion of *euk*^{u} and *an*. This assumption is challenged by the fact that contemporary Innu-aimun, unlike East Cree, has no independent particle *euk*^{u}, though it does have the very similar particles *ek*^{u} and *ekue*, which serve as conjunctions that may be roughly glossed as 'and so, and then' (§8.4.2). In the past, however, it seems that Innu-aimun did have a particle *euk*^{u}. The La Brosse Montagnais-Latin dictionary (1766) lists a particle *egu* 'thus,' which presumably corresponds with *ek*^{u} in the modern orthorgraphy. La Brosse also lists *eogu* as a variant form of *egu*. In today's orthography, *eogu* would presumably be written as *euk*^{u}. At this stage of its history, then, it seems that Innu-aimun, like East

Cree, did indeed have a particle *euk*^{u}. I will assume that *euk*^{u}, like *ek*^{u} and *ekue*, acted as a conjunction.

Analyzing *eukuan* as a fusion of the conjunction *euk*^{u} and the demonstrative *an* explains two of its properties. The conjunction component explains why *eukuan* always occurs clause-initially, as conjunctions typically do (§8.4), while the demonstrative component explains why the nominal focused by *eukuan* must always be demonstrative. Another significant property of *eukuan* remains unexplained, however: its ability to carry tense. To see how this property may have arisen, consider the following speculative account of the development of *eukuan*.[13]

Let us assume that Stage 1 of the development of *eukuan* involved sentences like (34). This sentence is similar to example (33a) from Southern East Cree, but with the addition of the noun *Pûn* 'Paul.'

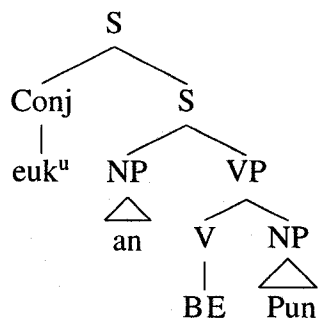
(34) *Euk*^{u} *an Pûn.* 'That's Paul.' (lit. 'And that one—Paul.')

The structure of (34) is fairly simple. It consists of the conjunction *euk*^{u} (which, if similar to present-day *ek*^{u} and *ekue*, likely means something like 'and so') followed by the nominal predication *an Pûn* 'that (is) Paul.' A diagram of this structure is shown in (35). In the diagram, the predicative nature of *an Pûn* is represented by the inclusion of an abstract copular verb, identified as "BE" for concreteness.[14]

[13]For simplicity, this account examines only examples in which the second clause of the cleft sentence is a predicate nominal.

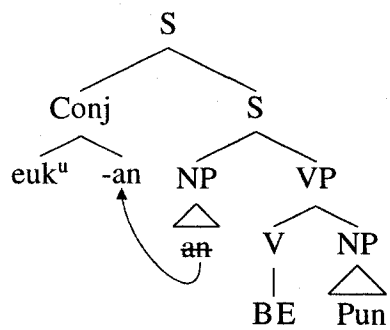
[14]The unsophisticated nature of this diagram is intentional, as the account sketched here is intended only as an outline for an analysis. The simplistic tree diagrams employed may be elaborated into more sophisticated structures in a variety of ways depending on the preferred analytical framework. For example, the null copula BE may be understood as the Tense (T) category of Minimalist syntax.

(35)



The configuration in (35) seems to engender a tendency for the demonstrative *an* to cliticize onto *euk^{u}*, as shown in the Southern East Cree example in (33b) above. Assume, then, that in Stage 2 of the development of *eukuan*, this cliticization has eventually led speakers to analyze *an* as being fused with *euk^{u}* as shown in (36). As a result of its demonstrative component, the fused form *eukuan* is obligatorily associated with demonstrative nominals.

(36)

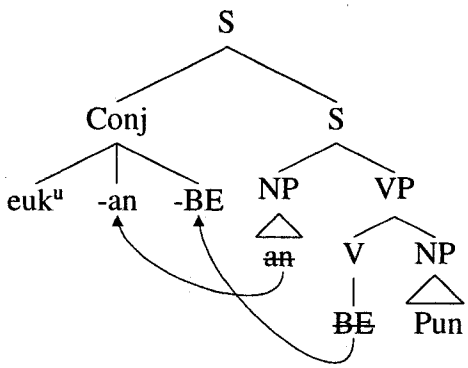


The fusion of *euk^{u}* and *an* makes it possible to reanalyze the position of the null copula BE. In Stages 1 and 2, the null copula is not realized as an overt verb, perhaps because it is located between two nominals, which are not appropriate hosts for verbal inflection. The attachment of *an* to the conjunction *euk^{u}*, however, clears the way for the null copula, too, to fuse with the Conj position, which may be a better host for its verbal properties.[15] Stage

[15]The Conj position may be identified with the C position of Minimalist syntax, which does indeed host verbal elements such as inverted auxiliaries.

3, then, occurs when speakers reanalyze the null copula as attaching itself to the adjacent Conj position rather than standing alone. This reanalysis is shown in (37).

(37)



By absorbing the null copula, *eukuan* gains that element's verbal properties and consequently begins to display tense inflection. If the tense and modality values of the copula are [+PRETERIT] and [+EVIDENTIAL], for example, these values will be realized as evidential preterit inflection on *eukuan*, resulting in the sentence *Eukuan**nîshapan** Pûn* 'That was apparently Paul.'

At this stage, *eukuan* has gained the three components that determine its unique character. Its conjunction component *euk^{u}* causes it to occur clause-initially, its demonstrative component *an* requires it to be associated with a demonstrative nominal, and its verbal component BE allows it to carry tense. Although the stage of development shown in (37) has not yet arrived at all the syntactic properties of present-day *eukuan*—a development involving further stages of syntactic reanalysis—it does provide a plausible explanation of how *eukuan* gained its defining features.

An interesting parallel to the development of *eukuan* appears to be taking place in contemporary Innu-aimun. Recall that *eukuan* developed as a result of the strong tendency for the demonstrative *an* to cliticize onto the preceding *euk^{u}*. In contemporary Innu-aimun, a

similar cliticization process seems to be affecting the demonstrative that follows *eukuan*. Younger speakers often consider the demonstrative to be part of the same word as *eukuan* and tend not to separate it from *eukuan* when they write. For example, my younger consultants commonly wrote *eukuannunu* for *eukuannû (ne)nû* (inanimate, singular, obviative) and *eukuanana* for *eukuana n(enu)a* (animate, obviative). Several times, in fact, I have been corrected for writing the demonstrative separately. It seems, then, that a second cycle of cliticization may be occurring, with the demonstrative once again beginning to fuse with the preceding element.[16]

While the speculative account above offers a plausible explanation of the genesis of *eukuan*, it is important to note that the other subject/object clefting words (*namaieu*, the interrogative pronouns, and the personal pronouns) have different origins. *Namaieu* seems to have originated as a verb, as Reinholtz (2005) suggests for the Moose Cree cognate *(na)mayêw*, while the interrogative and personal pronouns clearly originated as pronouns. In contemporary Innu-aimun, however, all of these items, in their clefting use, have converged to the point that their grammatical properties are essentially the same. This is evidence that clefting words truly do constitute a category, since there seems to be some unifying prototype towards which the various items have all converged.

The account sketched above may also apply to the oblique clefting word *ekute* 'it is there,' which could be a fusion of the conjunction *ekᵘ* 'then' and the adverb *ite* 'there' (which also occurs as a locative final in demonstratives). Interestingly, sequences of *ekute* plus a demonstrative are susceptible to cliticization just as *eukuan*-demonstrative sequences

[16]The fact that cliticization is so strongly favoured in this environment, both diachronically and synchronically, suggests that we may be observing a fundamental aspect of the working of the phonology-syntax interface in Innu-aimun.

are. For example, *ekute anite* is normally written as a single word by younger speakers, who pronounce it as *ekutenite* or even *ekutete*, with deletion of *n*. Like *eukuan*, then, *ekute* seems to occur in a structure that encourages cliticization of the following demonstrative. This tendency lends credence to the idea that a similar cliticization may once have derived *ekute* from *ekᵘ ite*. At present, however, such an analysis is pure speculation.

4.6. CONCLUSION. Figure 4.1 summarizes the classes of clefting words described in this chapter. (For a more detailed summary, refer to Tables 4.3 and 4.4.) In addition to describing the basic properties of these words, this chapter has argued that an adequate grammar of Innu-aimun must recognize at least the four core clefting words as a distinct category.[17] While a deeper analysis of clefting words must await further research, I hope that the foregoing discussion has demonstrated the usefulness of establishing this new, non-traditional part of speech. By freeing us from traditional assumptions, this new category allows us to see the clefting words as having consistent and well-motivated behaviour rather than acting as puzzling exceptions to traditional part-of-speech classes.

[17]It is not important whether this category is given the ad-hoc label "clefting words" or is called something else. The terminological issue arises mainly for the core clefting words, as the non-core clefting words also have more traditional labels that are appropriate for most practical purposes.

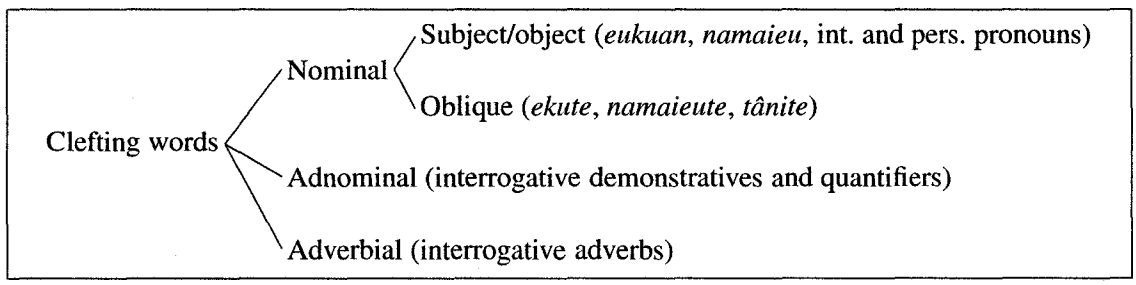


FIGURE 4.1. Classification of clefting words

CHAPTER 5

ADNOMINAL PARTICLES

Like the nominal function words discussed in Chapter 3, the class of adnominal particles is also determined by three criteria. Its members (1) are function words, (2) occur within the noun phrase, and (3) are indeclinable. The first two criteria are common to both classes; it is the third criterion, declinability, that separates them. Nominal function words—pronouns, demonstratives, and nominal adjectives—are declinable, while adnominal particles are not. This chapter describes the two basic classes of adnominal particles: adjectives (§5.1) and quantifiers (§5.2). Since adnominal particles and nominal function words both perform similar roles, the chapter concludes by comparing the two classes (§5.3).

5.1. ADJECTIVES. Conventional wisdom holds that Algonquian languages do not have adjectives. For the most part, this conventional wisdom is correct, as we will see below. Nevertheless, there is a small class of words in Innu-aimun that are indeed best classified as adjectives. This class includes the nominal adjective *kutak* 'other,' discussed in Chapter 3, as well as the particle adjectives *peikûtâu* 'same (one),' *tâpishkû* 'same (sort),' *natamik*ʷ 'any (sort),' *ushkat* 'first,' *mâshten* 'last,' and *tshek*ʷ 'what sort of,' to be discussed below. Before examining these adjectives, however, I first discuss the meaning and significance of the term "adjective" in order to clarify how it applies to Innu-aimun (§5.1.1).

The class of Innu-aimun adjectives is then exemplified (§5.1.2) and syntactically analyzed (§5.1.3).

5.1.1. LEXICAL VERSUS FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES. It may seem somewhat radical to propose the existence of a class of adjectives in Innu-aimun, but the proposal in this thesis is actually fully compatible with the traditional view that Algonquian languages do not have adjectives. This may seem like a paradox, but in fact the only problem is the traditional term "adjective," which, in its familiar application, is somewhat misleading. In English, two significantly different word classes are both considered to be adjectives. There is a large, open class of content-word adjectives, which we may refer to as LEXICAL ADJECTIVES. This class contains prototypical descriptive adjectives like those in (1).

(1) The { happy / tall / trustworthy } man

There is also a small, closed class of function-word adjectives known as FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES, which contains adjectives like those in (2).[1]

(2) The { same / other / last } man

Based on the examples in (1) and (2), however, it may not be obvious that lexical and functional adjectives are grammatically distinct. Although they have somewhat different semantics, both classes fit into the simple syntactic frame *The ___ man*. This is no doubt the reason why both classes are considered to be adjectives.

[1]The term "functional adjective" is used by Kayne (2005) and Cinque (2005) to refer to adjectives like *same* and *other*. By analogy, I have invented the complementary term "lexical adjective."

When we look beyond the simplest of structures, however, we discover that lexical and functional adjectives are grammatically quite different. Some of the properties of lexical adjectives are exemplified in (3). They may occur with degree modifiers like *extremely* (3a), they have comparative forms (3b), and they may function predicatively following a linking verb like *seem* (3c).

(3) a. The extremely { happy / tall / trustworthy } man

b. The { happier / taller / more trustworthy } man

c. The man seems { happy / tall / trustworthy }.

Functional adjectives, in contrast, have none of these properties. They cannot appear with degree modifiers (4a), they do not have comparative forms (4b), and they cannot follow a linking verb like *seem* (4c).

(4) a. *The extremely { same / other / last } man

b. *The { samer / otherer / laster } / { more same / more other / more last } man

c. *The man seems { same / other / last }.

The difference between the two classes becomes even clearer when we examine a noun phrase that contains adjectives of both types. When a NP contains a quantifier such as the numeral *three*, the unmarked word order is for functional adjectives to precede the quantifier and lexical adjectives to follow it, as shown in (5).

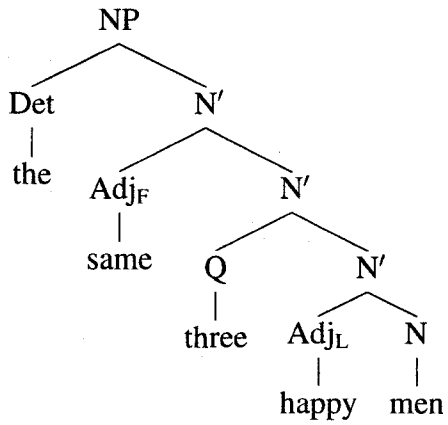
(5) The { same / other / last } three { happy / tall / trustworthy } men

This ordering, in fact, is obligatory. If the functional and lexical adjectives are switched, the result is ungrammatical, as shown in (6).

(6) *The { happy / tall / trustworthy } three { same / other / last } men

In view of the grammatical differences illustrated in (3) and (4) and the positional distinction illustrated in (5) and (6), it seems most reasonable to recognize that functional and lexical adjectives are two separate classes. Although both classes modify nouns, they are otherwise distinct categories and occupy distinct syntactic positions, as represented in the tree diagram in (7). (In this diagram, functional adjectives are labeled "Adj_F" and lexical adjectives are labeled "Adj_L".)

(7)



How is the preceding discussion relevant to Innu-aimun? It turns out that Innu-aimun lacks lexical adjectives, but does have a set of functional adjectives. In essence, this is no different from what Algonquianists have always said. When they speak of the absence of adjectives, they are referring to prototypical lexical adjectives like *happy*, *tall*, and *trustworthy*, not the relatively marginal set of functional adjectives like *same*, *other*, and *last*. We can retain the insight of the traditional Algonquianist view by revising it slightly. Rather than having no adjectives at all, it seems that Algonquian languages have no lexical adjectives. This revision allows us to recognize the existence of functional adjectives, which, as discussed above, have a quite distinct nature. As functional adjectives, the adjectives of Innu-aimun are much like demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers—they are simply one of the several classes of function words that accompany nouns.

5.1.2. THE ADJECTIVES OF INNU-AIMUN. Table 5.1 summarizes the adjectives of Innu-aimun.[2] All adjectives share the ability to accompany and modify a noun. The nominal adjective *kutak* 'other' is declinable and agrees with the noun it accompanies;

[2]These are the adjectives that my research has identified. Additional adjectives may, of course, exist.

TABLE 5.1. Innu-aimun adjectives

Type of adjective	Examples	Meaning
Particle adjective	*peikûtâu*	'same (one)'
	tâpishkû	'same (sort)'
	natamikᵘ	'any (sort)'
	ushkat	'first'
	mâshten	'last'
Interrogative particle adjective	*tshekᵘ*	'what sort of'
Nominal adjective	*kutak*	'other'

as a nominal, *kutak* was discussed in Chapter 3. The particle adjectives *peikûtâu* 'same,' *tâpishkû* 'same,' *ushkat* 'first,' *mâshten* 'last,' and *tshekᵘ* 'what sort' are exemplified in this section.

The adjectives *peikûtâu* and *tâpishkû* may both be glossed as 'same,' but their meanings are slightly different. To understand the difference, consider that the English adjective *same*, as in (8), is actually ambiguous.

(8) I rent the same car every time I travel.

This sentence can be interpreted in two ways:

(9) a. I rent the same individual vehicle (e.g. with license plate number ABC-123).

b. I rent the same type of car (e.g. a Chevrolet Cavalier).

The interpretation of *same* in (9a) is known as INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY, while the interpretation in (9b) is known as TYPE IDENTITY (Pianesi and Varzi 2000). In Innu-aimun,

the adjectives *peikûtâu* and *tâpishkû* are distinguished along these lines. *Peikûtâu* denotes individual identity, as shown in (10).

(10) a. *Utâkushît* ***peikûtâu*** *nîsh*^{u} *auenitshenat nuâpamâtîht.*
yesterday same two INDEF.3P 1.see.PRET.1>3P
'I saw the same two people yesterday.' (WO 3-5-50)

b. *Utâkushît* ***peikûtâu*** *nishk nuâpamâtân.*
yesterday same goose 1.see.PRET.1>3
'We saw the same goose yesterday.' (WO 1-8-40)

Tâpishkû, on the other hand, denotes type identity, as exemplified in (11).

(11) *Eukuan* ***tâpishkû*** *mashk*^{u} *kâ uâpamâk*^{u} *utâkushît.*
it.is same bear IC.PERF see.CONJ.21P yesterday
'It's that same kind of bear that we saw yesterday.' (WO 2-2-26)

Speakers often translate both *peikûtâu* and *tâpishkû* simply as 'same,' but when asked to describe the meaning in more detail, they usually note the distinction between individual and type identity.

Innu-aimun also has the adjective *natamik*^{u} 'any (sort),' as exemplified in (12).

(12) a. *Nânatuâtâ* ***natamik***^{u} *mîna.*
look.for.IMP.2S any berry.3P
'Look for any kind of berries.' (WO 1-8-38)

b. ***Natamik***^{u} *auen uîshâmâkanû tshetshi takushinit.*
any INDEF be.invited.3S IRREAL come.CONJ.3S
'Anyone is welcome to come.'
(lit. 'any type of person'—Innu, Inuit, white, etc.) (WO 2-1-74)

The antonyms *ushkat* 'first' and *mâshten* 'last' are adjectives as well, as illustrated in (13).

(13) a. ***Ushkat*** *mîtshuâp* *tshe* *uâpâtamin,* *pîtutshe* *anite.*
first house IC.FUT see.CONJ.2S>3 enter.IMP.2S the.LOC
'The first house you will see, go in there.' (Hasler 2006: 21)

b. *Eukuannua* *nenua* ***mâshten*** *nisht^{u}* *tshîmana.*
it.is.3'P that.3'P last three match.3'P
'Those are the last three matches.' (WO 3-3-20)

The class of adjectives also includes an interrogative member, *tshek^{u}* 'what sort of.'

(14) ***Tshek^{u}*** *atim^{u}* *tshimâkumik^{u}?*
what.sort dog 2.bite.3>2
'Which dog bit you?' (i.e. 'what sort of dog') (WO 2-5-21, 4-3-7)

It is instructive to compare *tshek^{u}* with the interrogative demonstrative *tânen* 'which,' as exemplified in (15).

(15) ***Tânen*** *an* *atim^{u}* [*miâkumishk*]*?*
which that dog [IC.bite.CONJ.3>2]
'Which dog bit you?'
(lit. 'Which dog is it [that bit you]?') (WO 2-5-21, 4-3-7)

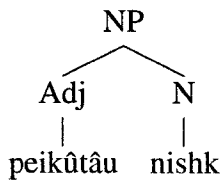
Although *tshek^{u}* and *tânen* both accompany nouns and form questions, their meanings are slightly different. *Tânen* requests the identity of the questioned noun. An appropriate answer to (15), for example, would be *ne atim^{u}* 'that dog.' For *tshek^{u}*, however, this is not the case. *Tshek^{u}* asks not for the identity of the questioned noun, but rather for a description of it. To answer the question in (14), for example, one would describe the dog's size, colour, sex, and so on. Due to this focus on descriptive information, it seems most appropriate to classify *tshek^{u}* as an interrogative adjective.[3]

[3]Somewhat strangely for an interrogative, *tshek^{u}* appears not to be obligatorily followed by a conjunct verb, as mentioned in Section 4.4.

5.1.3. THE SYNTAX OF ADJECTIVES. This section provides a preliminary analysis of the syntax of Innu-aimun adjectives, examining their position in the noun phrase and the effects that arise when an adjective occurs without the accompaniment of an overt noun. The discussion includes not only the particle adjectives but also the nominal adjective *kutak*, which seems to share the same syntactic behaviour.

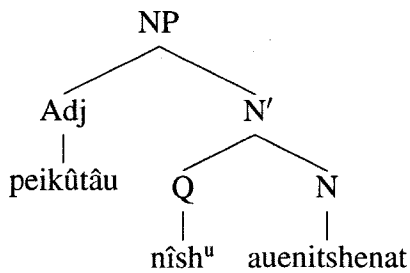
An adjective usually precedes the noun it modifies, as in (10)–(14) above. A tree diagram illustrating the typical position of an adjective is shown in (16).

(16) *peikûtâu nishk* 'the same goose'



When a noun is accompanied by both an adjective and a quantifier, the adjective tends to precede the quantifier, as in (10a) and (13) above. This structure is shown in (17).

(17) *peikûtâu nîshᵘ auenitshenat* 'the same two people'



Note, however, that examples of nouns accompanied by both an adjective and a quantifier rarely occur in textual sources. The examples in (10a) and (13) are from elicitations, during

which the consultant was asked to translate English sentences. It is possible, then, that the order in (10a), (13), and (17) is simply an artifact of the original English material.

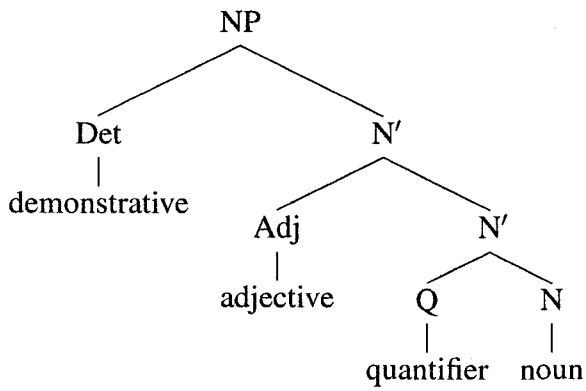
No such uncertainty arises regarding the positioning of adjectives relative to demonstratives. Relevant examples occur frequently, and the demonstrative normally precedes the adjective, as in (18).

(18) a. *Ekᵘ itenimeuat* ***anitshenat kutakat uemishtikushuat:*** [...]
then think.3>3′ that.3P other.3P whiteman.3P
'Then the other white men thought: [...]' (LITP 1-9-002)

In the LITP texts, there are seven examples of *kutak* accompanied by a demonstrative. In six of these examples, the demonstrative immediately precedes *kutak.*

To this point, we have seen that adjectives tend to precede nouns, quantifiers tend to follow adjectives (though the data is questionable), and demonstratives tend to precede adjectives. These default tendencies are represented by the structure in (19).

(19) Default NP structure for Innu-aimun



Aside from the absence of a lexical adjective position, this structure is identical to the one shown for English in (7) above. This correspondence is, in fact, not surprising, as

Greenberg (1963) has noted the existence of extensive cross-linguistic similarities in the ordering of noun phrase constituents, a connection pursued more deeply in recent work by Cinque (2004). The basic order shown in (19) may, of course, be altered for grammatical and/or pragmatic purposes, which remain largely undocumented.[4]

Although adjectives are defined by their ability to accompany and modify a noun, they do sometimes occur without the accompaniment of an overt noun. Examples of *kutak* occurring without a noun were provided in Section 3.4, and similar examples are shown for *mâshten* and *tâpishkû* in (20). When the noun is not overtly expressed, the adjective is understood as modifying an unspecified noun ('the one'/'the thing').

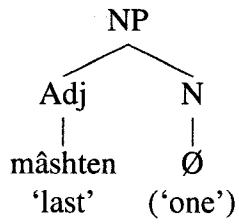
(20) a. *Eukuannû* ***mâshten*** *eshtenit.*
it.is.3′S last IC.be.placed.CONJ.3′S
'That was the last thing laying there.'
(lit. 'That is **the last (one)** that was placed there.') (LITP 3-2-112)

b. ***Tâpishkû*** *ishinâkushûat.*
same look.like.3P
'They look the same.'
(lit. 'They look like **the same (thing)**.') (LITP 3-2-21)

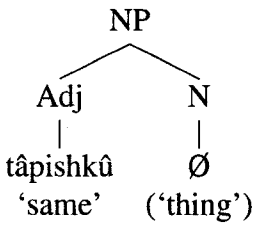
We may express the existence of this understood noun by analyzing the adjective as modifying an empty noun position, as discussed for *kutak* in Section 3.4. The diagrams in (21) show how this analysis applies to the examples in (20).

[4]Not entirely undocumented, however. The nature of discontinuous NPs in Swampy Cree is examined in Reinholtz and Russell 1995, Russell and Reinholtz 1996, and Reinholtz 1999.

(21) a. *mâshten* 'the last (one)'



b. *tâpishkû* 'the same (thing)'



The analysis in (21) allows us to see adjectives as always occupying the same structural position—as modifiers of N—whether or not they occur with an overt noun. This analysis thereby keeps the grammar as simple as possible.[5] Cross-linguistically, adjectives are commonly able to appear without an overt noun, as in English expressions such as *the rich* and *the poor*, a pattern that is even more productive in French.

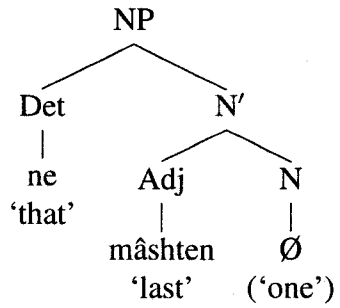
The ability of adjectives to accompany a null noun interacts with another property of Innu-aimun grammar: the ability of nouns to carry locative case. In addition to "noun-less" non-locative NPs like [$_{NP}$ *ne mâshten* Ø] 'the last (one),' we also find noun-less locative NPs like [$_{NP}$ *nete mâshten* Ø] 'in the end.' Here, the locative demonstrative *nete* indicates that the NP is in the locative case. This locative demonstrative combines with the adjective *mâshten* and the null locative noun to create a meaning that may be translated as 'in the last place' or, more idiomatically, 'in the end,' as exemplified in (22).

(22) *Mishta-minupanû* [$_{NP}$ ***nete*** ***mâshten***].
very-go.well.3S [$_{NP}$ that.LOC last]
'Everything turned out well in the end.'
(lit. 'at last'/'in the last place') (WO 1-5-15)

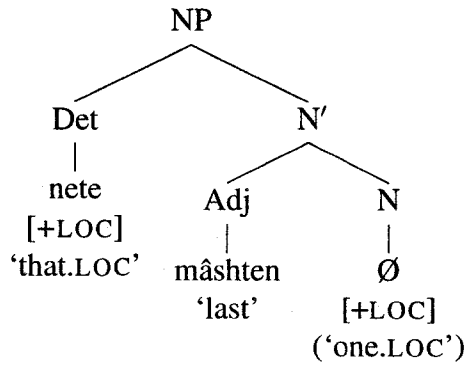
[5]The trade-off, of course, is that we must assume the existence of a zero noun. However, such zero nouns are commonly employed in the analysis of polysynthetic languages, so this is not an unusual assumption.

The structure of the locative NP *nete mâshten* is the same as that of the analogous non-locative NP *ne mâshten*, as illustrated in (23).

(23) a. *ne mâshten*
'the last (one)'



b. *nete mâshten* 'in the end'
(lit. 'in the last (place)')

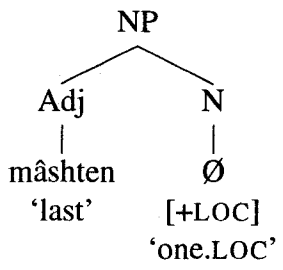


Note that the NP *nete mâshten* in (22) functions adverbially, modifying the verb *mishta-minupanû*. This adverbial distribution is typical for locative NPs, as already discussed for the locative demonstratives (§3.3.3). The adverbial role played by *nete mâshten* is therefore completely consistent with the classification of *mâshten* as an adjective and is not evidence that *mâshten* should instead be considered an adverb.

The situation becomes less clear-cut, however, when *mâshten* occurs as the lone member of a locative NP, as in (24a).

(24) a. *Kassinû tshekuân minupanû* [$_{NP}$ ***mâshten***].
all INDEF.3S go.well.3S [$_{NP}$ last]
'Everything turned out well [in the end].'
(lit. 'at last'/'in the last place') (WO 2-1-4)

b. *mâshten* '(in the) last (place)'



This example is still consistent with an adjectival analysis of *mâshten*, as the diagram in (24b) illustrates. However, since the example contains no demonstrative to clearly indicate that *mâshten* is part of an NP, it is also possible to analyze *mâshten* in (24a) as an adverb. Which analysis is preferable? The adverbial analysis of *mâshten* accounts only for example (24a). The adjectival analysis, on the other hand, accounts not only for (24a), but also for examples like (13), (20a), and (22), in which *mâshten* clearly has adjectival properties (e.g. accompanying nouns, following demonstratives, etc.). Since the adjectival analysis accounts for all examples of *mâshten*, the simplest analysis is therefore to assume that all occurrences of *mâshten* are adjectives. It would be superfluous to complicate matters by unnecessarily labeling certain occurrences of *mâshten* as adverbs instead.[6]

5.2. QUANTIFIERS. In addition to adjectives, Innu-aimun has another class of adnominal particles: quantifiers, which identify the number or amount of a noun. As particles, quantifiers are indeclinable and therefore do not agree with the nouns they modify. Innu-aimun quantifiers may be grouped into three classes: non-numeral quantifiers like

[6]The same argument also applies to the adjectives *ushkat* 'first' (or '(in the) first (place)') and *tâpishkû* 'same' (or '(in the) same (place)'), which often occur in examples similar to (24).

kassinû 'all' (§5.2.1), numeral quantifiers like *peikᵘ* 'one' (§5.2.2), and incorporated-noun quantifiers like *peikuemîkuân* 'one spoonful' (§5.2.3).

5.2.1. NON-NUMERAL QUANTIFIERS. Non-numeral quantifiers identify the quantity of a noun without assigning it a specific numerical value. In Innu-aimun, the most commonly encountered non-numeral quantifiers are *kassinû* 'every/all' (25), *nûtim* 'all/the entire' (26), *mîtshet* 'many' (27), *passe* 'some' (28), and *tânitâtᵘ* 'how many' (29).

(25) ***Kassinû*** *auâssat* *tshika* *pîtukâiâuâuat.*
all child.3P 2.FUT bring.in.2>3
'You should bring all the children indoors.' (LITP 2-5-011)

(26) *Pâtshîtitâu* ***nûtim*** *uâua.*
drop.3S all egg.3P
'He dropped all the eggs.' (WO 2-1-14)

(27) ***Mîtshet*** *mashkuat* *nuâpamânânat.*
many bear.3P 1.see.1>3P
'We saw a lot of bears.' (WO 1-11-74, 2-4-34, 3-2-7)

(28) ***Passe*** *auâssat* *shekᵘ* *mîtshishuâkanit* *kâshûat.*
some child.3P under table.LOC hide.3P
'Some children hid under the table.' (WO 1-4-31)

(29) ***Tânitâtᵘ*** *uâua* *uâ* *âpashtâin?*
how.many egg.3P IC.VOLIT use.CONJ.2S
'How many eggs is it that you want to use?' (WO 3-2-45)

The interrogative quantifier *tânitâtᵘ* is obligatorily followed by a clause containing a conjunct verb, thus acting as a "clefting word" in the terminology of Chapter 4.

Like demonstratives and adjectives, a quantifier normally precedes the noun it occurs with. In many cases, the quantifier immediately precedes the noun, as in (25)–(29) above. There is another common pattern, however, in which the quantifier and noun are separated. In this pattern, the quantifier immediately precedes the verb while the noun occurs at the end of the sentence, as in the examples in (30).

(30) a. ***Kassinû*** *nipâtshîtitân* ***uâua.***
all 1.drop.1S egg.3P
'I dropped all the eggs.' (WO 3-2-19)

b. *Ekᵘ* *nûtîkumâtikut,* ***nûtim*** *mannenua* ***utîkuma.***
then look.for.lice.CONJ.3′>3 all take.off.3′>3″ 3.lice.3′
'Then he looked for his lice, he took off all of his lice.' (LITP 4-3-064)

c. *Shâsh* ***kassinû*** *matâpeuat* *anite* ***innuat.***
already all arrive.from.country.3P the.LOC person.3P
'All the Innu had already come there from the country.' (LITP 4-2-078)

This pattern also occurs in Swampy Cree. Reinholtz (1999) analyzes the pre-verbal position as one in which the quantifier receives focus. Under this analysis, example (30a) would be pragmatically equivalent to an English sentence like *I dropped **ALL** the eggs*, in which the quantifier receives contrastive stress.

In general, it appears that word orders in which the quantifier precedes the noun are preferred to those in which the quantifier follows the noun. Consider examples (31)–(32), which indicate how a speaker of the Uashau sub-dialect judged the acceptability of various rearrangements of the sentence *Mîtshet mashkuat nuâpamânânat* 'We saw a lot of bears.' There are three possible arrangements in which the quantifier *mîtshet* 'many' precedes the

noun *mashkuat* 'bears.' These three arrangements, shown in (31), were all considered acceptable by the speaker.

(31) *mîtshet* > *mashkuat*

a. ***Mîtshet mashkuat*** *nuâpamânânat.*
many bear.3P 1.see.1>3P
'We saw a lot of bears.'

b. ***Mîtshet*** *nuâpamânânat* ***mashkuat.***

c. *Nuâpamânânat* ***mîtshet mashkuat.***

In contrast, the speaker found the three possible arrangements in which the quantifier follows the noun to be unacceptable, as indicated in (32).

(32) **mashkuat* > *mîtshet*

a. ****Mashkuat mîtshet*** *nuâpamânânat.*

b. ****Mashkuat*** *nuâpamânânat* ***mîtshet.***

c. **Nuâpamânânat* ***mashkuat mîtshet.*** (WO 1-11-74)

At least for this speaker, then, it appears that quantifiers are required to precede the nouns they modify. It is difficult to generalize from this example, however, as not all speakers share the acceptability judgments shown in (31)–(32).[7]

[7]It is not surprising that these judgments are not universal. Since Innu-aimun word order is, to a large extent, determined by pragmatic rather than grammatical factors, speakers likely use pragmatic as well as grammatical criteria to judge the acceptability of alternative word orders like those in (31)–(32). It is nearly impossible for the linguist to tell exactly which pragmatic factors are determining a specific speaker's acceptability judgments at a specific point in time. Some speakers may, for example, accept only word orders that are pragmatically unmarked, while others may be more adept at imagining contexts in which pragmatically marked word orders are appropriate, thereby finding a wider range of word orders to be acceptable.

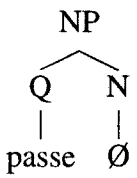
Just as demonstratives and adjectives may occur without an overt noun, so may quantifiers. Example (33a) contains two instances of the quantifier *passe* 'some' occurring alone as a noun phrase, while in (33b), the demonstrative *nenua* 'them' and the quantifier *kassinû* 'all' occur together in a "noun-less" NP.

(33) a. ***Passe*** *tshî nâtakâmaimuat ek*^{u} ***passe*** *kutâupanûat.*
some ABIL swim.ashore.3P and some sink.in.3P
'Some of them could swim ashore; some went under.' (LITP 4-3-448)

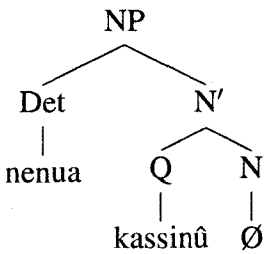
b. *Nipâieu nenua* ***kassinû.***
kill.3>3′ that.3′ all
'He killed all of them.' (LITP 4-4-026)

As discussed at length for adjectives in Section 5.1.3, such occurrences may be analyzed as modifying a null noun. Tree diagrams illustrating how this analysis applies to the NPs in (33) are provided in (34).

(34) a. *passe* 'some of them'



b. *nenua kassinû* 'all of them'



For more information about the grammatical and semantic properties of quantifiers, consult the extensive research by Junker (1996, 1998, 2000) on quantification in East Cree, a close relative of Innu-aimun.

5.2.2. NUMERAL QUANTIFIERS. The class of numeral quantifiers—or simply NUMERALS for short—is based entirely on the set of basic numerals listed in (35).

(35)

1	*peik^{u}*	5	*patetât*	8	*nishuâush*
2	*nîsh^{u}*	6	*kutuâsht*	9	*peikushteu*
3	*nisht^{u}*	7	*nîshuâsht*	10	*kutunnu*
4	*neu*				

(Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 17)

The multiples of 10 (20 to 90) are derived by adding *-(i)nnu* to the numerals from 2 to 9.[8] The *-(i)nnu* morpheme is added directly to the numerals 2 through 4, as in (36).

(36)

20	*nîshu**nnu***
30	*nishtu**nnu***
40	*neu**nnu***

For the numerals 5 through 9, however, the *-(i)nnu* morpheme is not directly added to the numeral root. Rather, it is added to a stem composed of the numeral root plus *-tâtu* 'many,' as in (37). In the standard orthography, stem-forming *-tâtu* is separated from the numeral root by a hyphen.

(37)

50	*patetât-tâtu**nnu***
60	*kutuâsht-tâtu**nnu***

[8]The *-(i)nnu* morpheme is derived from the word *innu* 'person.' In some dialects, the numeral 10 is *peikunnu*, derived from *peik^{u}* 'one' and *(i)nnu* 'person,' literally 'one person' (Cyr 1996b). The *-(i)nnu* morpheme always surfaces as *-nnu* in numerals due to a morphophonemic rule that deletes its initial short vowel following the final vowel of the numeral stem.

Multiples of 10 are not the only context in which *-tâtu* occurs. In general, the *-tâtu* stems must be used whenever complex numerals involving 5 through 9 are derived.

Between the multiples of 10, increments of one are expressed by connecting a multiple of 10 with a basic numeral using the conjunction *âshu*, as in (38).

(38) 11 *kutunnu* ***âshu*** *peik*^{u} 'ten and one'

12 *kutunnu* ***âshu*** *nîsh*^{u} 'ten and two'

24 *nîshunnu* ***âshu*** *neu* 'twenty and four'

Multiples of 100 are derived by adding *-mitâshumitannû* to the basic numerals, as in (39).

(39) 100 *peikumitâshumitannû*

200 *nîshumitâshumitannû*

500 *patetât-tâtumitâshumitannû*

Multiples of 1000 are derived by adding *-tshishemitâshumitannû* to the basic numerals, as in (40). This morpheme is itself derived by adding *tshishe-* 'great' to the *-mitâshumitannû* morpheme used in the derivation of multiples of 100.

(40) 1000 *peikutshishemitâshumitannû*,

2000 *nîshutshishemitâshumitannû*, ...

5000 *patetât-tâtutshishemitashumitannû*, ...

Note that the set of basic numerals shown in (35) is not a completely unified category, as the numerals 1 through 4 differ from the numerals 5 through 9 in three significant ways. First, the numerals 1 through 4 are monosyllabic, while the numerals 5 through 9 are multi-

syllabic. Second, the numerals 1 through 4 occur as bare roots in complex numerals, while the numerals 5 through 9 must combine with *-tâtu* to form a stem. Third, the numerals 1 through 4 have corresponding verbs meaning 'there is one,' 'there are two,' and so on, as illustrated in (41).

(41) a. ***Peikussû*** *nâpeu.*
be.one.3S man
'There is one man.'

b. ***Nîshuat*** *ishkueuat.*
be.two.3P woman.3P
'There are two women.' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 102–103)

The numerals 5 through 9 do not have corresponding verbs of this type. To express the same notion, they must occur with a more general verb meaning 'there are (a certain number),' as illustrated in (42).

(42) a. ***Patetât itashuat*** *mishtukuat.*
five there.are.3P tree.3P
'There are five trees.'

b. ***Kutuâsht itashuat*** *mînûshat.*
six there.are.3P cat.3P
'There are six cats.' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 102–103)

The syntactic behaviour of numerals matches that of the non-numeral quantifiers discussed in the previous section. Numerals generally precede the nouns they modify. As Cyr (1996b) notes, a numeral may be separated from the noun and placed in a pre-verbal position, as shown for *nisht*^{u} 'three' in (43).

(43) *Nûtâu* ***nisht"*** *nipâieu amishkua, peik" pineua, kie peik" atshikâsha.*
1.father three kill.3>3′ beaver.3′ one partridge.3′ and one mink.3′
'My father killed three beavers, one partridge and one mink.' (Cyr 1996b: 199)

As noted in the previous section, the pre-verbal occurrence of quantifiers is analyzed by Reinholtz (1999) as serving to establish focus.

A final important property of Innu-aimun numerals is that they may undergo initial reduplication, as shown in (44).

(44) a. ***pâpeik"*** 'one each, one by one' (cf. *peik"* 'one')

b. ***nânîsh"*** 'two each, two by two' (cf. *nîsh"* 'two')

As these examples illustrate, reduplication contributes a meaning of distribution and/or succession.

5.2.3. INCORPORATED-NOUN QUANTIFIERS. In addition to the non-numeral and numeral quantifiers discussed in the preceding sections, Innu-aimun also has a large set of morphologically complex particles derived by combining a quantifier and a nominal morpheme. Examples of such particles are provided in (45).

(45) a. *nîshumitshîtin* 'two inches'
(= *nîshu-* 'two' + *-mitshîtin* 'inch')

b. *patetât-tâtumitâshumitannueiâpiss* 'five hundred dollars'
(= *patetât-tâtumitâshumitannu-* 'five hundred' + *-âpiss* 'dollar')[9]

c. *mîtshetuâu* 'many times'
(= *mîtshetu-* 'many' + *-uâu* 'time')

[9]Quantifiers ending with *-(i)nnu* are often followed by a connective *-e(i)-*, as in (45b).

These complex quantifiers all have the form [Q + N], where Q is a quantifier and N is a morpheme with noun-like meaning. As illustrated in (45), the quantifier position may be occupied by a simple numeral, a complex numeral, or a non-numeral quantifier (*pûshku-* 'half,' *mîtshetu-* 'many,' or *tâtu-* 'so many'). Morphemes that occupy the noun position typically occur elsewhere as either verb medials (e.g. *-âshkᵘ-* 'stick-like object' or independent nouns (e.g. *emîkuân* 'spoon'). For convenience, I will refer to both types of nominal morphemes as "incorporated nouns."

Although incorporated-noun quantifiers all share the same morphological structure, their syntactic properties differ. On syntactic grounds, they fall into the following four classes: (1) measure-word quantifiers, (2) classificatory quantifiers, (3) nominal quantifiers, and (4) adverbial quantifiers. The following sections describe each class in turn.

MEASURE-WORD QUANTIFIERS. Quantifiers in this class are formed when the incorporated noun expresses a unit of volume or length. The incorporated nouns listed in (46) form measure-word quantifiers.[10]

(46) *-âtâkan(âshkᵘ)* 'barrelful'
-emîkuân 'tablespoonful'
-emîkuânîss 'teaspoonful'
-kuânitîtsheun 'single handful'
-kuâpikâkan 'pailful'
-kuâpinikan '(double) handful'
-minâkan 'gallon'
-mishit 'foot'
-mishtikûsh 'case'
-mitshîtin 'inch'
-nâkan 'cupful'
-nâshiet 'plateful'
-niss 'armlength'
-pitshûnân 'the distance covered in one day walking and pulling a toboggan'
-pûtai 'bottleful'
-pakashenikan 'pinch'
-ssimuteush 'bag/sackful'
-tâkunikan 'armful'
-tâpânâshkᵘ 'toboggan load'
-tâpân 'truckload'
-tipaikan 'mile'
-tipâpekaikan 'pound'
-tipâshkunikan 'yard/mile'

[10]Further information about Innu-aimun nominal morphology may be found in Drapeau 1979.

Measure-word quantifiers accompany a noun and specify its amount, just as non-derived quantifiers do. They often immediately precede the noun they modify, as in (47a), but may also occur pre-verbally, as in (47b).

(47) a. ***Nishtunâkan tûtûshinâpuî*** *tshika âpatshieu.*
three.cupfuls milk 3.FUT use.3S
'S/he will use three cupfuls of milk.' (WO 3-2-50)

b. ***Nishtuâtâkanâshkᵘ*** *nitshîtûtâtân* ***pimî.***
three.barrelfuls 1.leave.carrying.PRET.1P oil
'We took three barrelfuls of oil.' (WO 2-4-23)

It is also possible for a measure-word quantifier to occur without an overt noun, as in (48).

(48) ***Mîtshetupûtai*** *nika min utâkussîtî.*
many.bottlefuls 1.FUT drink.1S be.evening.CONJ.3S
'I'm going to drink a few tonight.' (WO 3-6-24)

Note, however, that in such cases, the measure-word quantifier is still understood to modify an independent noun. This point is made especially clear by the contrast in (49).

(49) a. ***Nishtuâtâkanâshkᵘ*** *takuana anite kâkashkatinânût-utâpânit.*
three.barrel be.3P the.LOC square-vehicle.LOC
'There are 3 barrelfuls (of some substance) in the truck.'

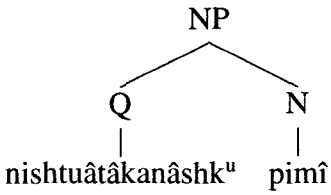
b. ***Nishtᵘ uâtâkanâshkua*** *takuana anite kâkashkatinânût-utâpânit.*
three barrel.3P be.3P the.LOC square-vehicle.LOC
'There are 3 barrels in the truck.' (WO 2-4-23)

In (49a), the incorporated-noun quantifier *nishtuâtâkanâshkᵘ* 'three barrelfuls' must be understood as specifying the amount of some substance, not simply as counting a group of

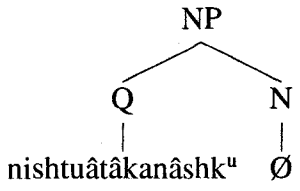
barrels. In order to simply count barrels, an independent quantifier must be used with the independent noun *uâtâkanâshkᵘ* 'barrel,' as in (49b).

The tree diagrams in (50) graphically represent the properties of measure-word quantifiers. These diagrams are equivalent to those provided for simple quantifiers in (34) above.

(50) a. *nishtuâtâkanâshkᵘ pimî*
'three barrelfuls of oil'



b. *nishtuâtâkanâshkᵘ*
'three barrelfuls'



CLASSIFICATORY QUANTIFIERS. Quantifiers in this class are formed when the incorporated noun denotes a property of the items being counted. The incorporated nouns listed in (51) form classificatory quantifiers.

(51) *-et* 'sheetlike thing'
-âpet 'stringlike thing'
-âshkᵘ 'sticklike thing'

Like measure-word quantifiers, classificatory quantifiers modify an external noun, which may be either overtly expressed or understood. Rather than measuring the noun's amount, however, classificatory quantifiers simply encode information about its basic shape.[11] Example (52) illustrates the classificatory quantifier *nishtuâshkᵘ* 'three sticklike things.'

(52) ***Nishtuâshkᵘ tshîmana*** *mînî.*
three.sticklike match.3P give.IMP.2>1
'Give me three matches.' (WO 1-11-57)

[11]This appears quite similar to the classifier or "counter" systems that are common in East Asian languages.

Classificatory quantifiers have the same syntactic distribution as measure-word quantifiers and occupy the same structural position shown in the diagrams in (50).

It is sometimes possible for the classificatory incorporated noun to appear as part of the external noun rather than incorporating into the quantifier, as shown for *-âshkᵘ* in (53).

(53) ***Nisht*** *tshîmanâ**shkua*** *mînî.*
three match.stick.3P give.IMP.2>1
'Give me three matchsticks.' (WO 1-11-57)

Interestingly, however, it is not possible for the classificatory incorporated noun to appear in both positions at once:

(54) **Nishtuâ**shkᵘ*** *tshîmanâ**shkua*** *mînî.*
three.sticklike match.stick.3P give.IMP.2>1
'Give me three matchsticks.' (WO 1-11-57)

It seems likely, then, that only a single abstract classifier position is available within an Innu-aimun noun phrase, and that in certain circumstances, the classifier occupying this position may alternatively be realized either as part of the quantifier or as part of the noun.

NOMINAL QUANTIFIERS. Unlike the preceding two classes, the members of this class are not used to count an external noun. Rather, they count the incorporated noun itself, as shown in the example words in (55).

(55) a. *nîshuâ**piss*** 'two dollars'

b. *mîtshetu**shtû*** 'many beaver lodges'

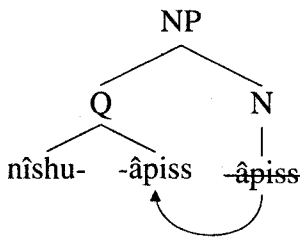
c. *tâtu**shâm*** 'so many pairs of snowshoes'

Since they are not used to count an external noun, the members of this class do not function syntactically as quantifiers. Due to their self-contained nature, they instead pattern as noun phrases; hence the label "nominal quantifiers." The incorporated nouns listed in (56) form nominal quantifiers.

(56) *-âpiss* 'dollar'
-mitâsh 'pair of stockings'
-shâm 'pair of snowshoes'
-shtû 'beaver lodge'
-shtish 'pair of mittens'
-ssin 'pair of shoes'

The tree diagram in (57) expresses the grammatical properties of nominal quantifiers.

(57) *nîshuâpiss* 'two dollars'



In this diagram, the incorporated noun *-âpiss* 'dollar' underlyingly occupies the N position. As an affix, however, it cannot be pronounced as a separate word, so on the surface, it shows up attached to the neighbouring quantifier.[12] This analysis captures the two properties that distinguish nominal quantifiers from the other classes of quantifiers. First, since the incorporated noun *-âpiss* originally occupies the N position, it follows that *-âpiss* is understood as the noun that is counted by the quantifier *nîshu-* 'two.' Second, since the entire representation of *nîshuâpiss* is actually an NP rather than a Q, it follows that *nîshuâpiss* behaves syntactically like a noun phrase rather than a quantifier.

[12]A more sophisticated analysis would recognize that this phrase is actually a QP headed by the quantifier *nîshu-*, allowing the movement operation shown in (57) to be seen as head movement.

ADVERBIAL QUANTIFIERS. This final class of complex quantifiers involves the incorporated nouns listed in (58), which denote periods of time.

(58) *-nîpin* 'summer'
-minâshtâkana 'week'
-(pi)puna 'year'
-pîshimua 'month'
-tipaikan(a) 'hour'
-tipishkâua 'night'
-tshîshikâua 'day'

The resulting complex quantifiers act as adverbial modifiers; hence the label "adverbial quantifiers." Example (59) illustrates the adverbial nature of *nishtutipaikana* 'three hours,' which modifies the verb and is itself accompanied by a degree modifier.[13]

(59) *Tshekât* ***nishtutipaikana*** *nitatussetân.*
almost three.hours 1.work.PRET.1P
'We worked for almost three hours.' (WO 1-11-1)

In addition to the incorporated nouns listed in (58), which all express specific units of time, two morphemes with very general meanings also form adverbial quantifiers: *-ait* '(so many) ways' (e.g. *nishtuait* 'in three ways') and *-(u)âu* '(so many) times' (e.g. *nishtuâu* 'three times'). An example of *nishtuâu* is provided in (60).

(60) *"**Nishtuâu** tshika mâtenimin," itikû.*
three.times 2.FUT sense.2>1 say.3′>3
'"Three times you will feel my presence," he said to him.' (LITP 2-1-003)

In adverbial quantifiers, as in nominal quantifiers, the incorporated noun itself is understood as being counted by the quantifier root. This suggests that adverbial quantifiers, like nominal quantifiers, underlyingly involve full NP structures as shown in (57) above. Nom-

[13]For more information about the grammatical properties of adverbs, see Chapter 7.

inal and adverbial quantifiers differ in their syntactic distribution: nominal quantifiers serve as subjects and objects while adverbial quantifiers, as modifiers, are syntactically oblique. Adverbial quantifiers may therefore be seen as "bare-NP adverbs" (Larson 1985), a category discussed further in Section 7.1.1.

Note that the class of adverbial quantifiers also includes the interrogative member *tânitâtuâu* 'how many times' (*tân* 'how' + *tâtû* '(so) many' + *uâu* 'times'), which was exemplified in Section 4.4, example (31).

5.3. CONCLUSION. Figure 5.1 summarizes the classification of adnominal particles proposed in this chapter.[14] Now that the classes of adnominal particles and nominal function words (Chapter 3) have both been described, it is worthwhile to consider how they are related. Since both classes contain function words that occur in the noun phrase, they actually form a single natural class. Let us refer to this larger class as "NP function words." Adnominal particles are simply the indeclinable branch of this class, while nominal function words are the declinable branch. This overall classification is shown in Figure 5.2. Figure 5.3 illustrates the default syntactic positions occupied by NP function words as far as can be determined from their occurrences in texts and elicitations.

[14]Note that while the nominal and adverbial incorporated-noun quantifiers are not truly *adnominal* particles beacuse they do not accompany and modify nouns, it is nevertheless reasonable to classify them with the other quantifiers due to their formal similarities.

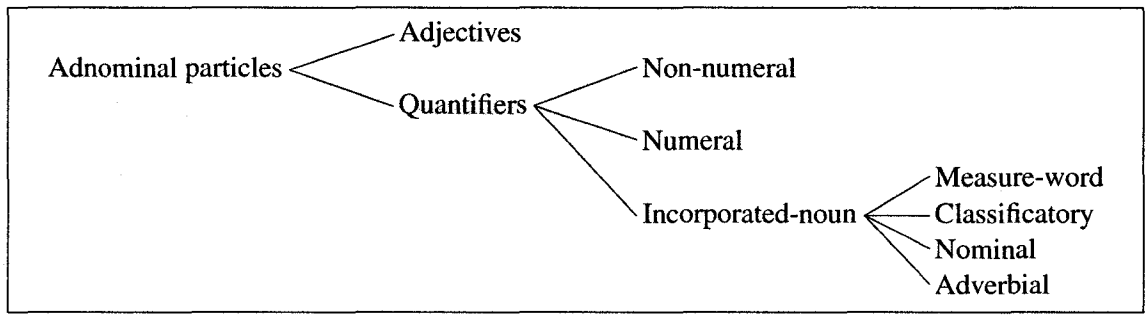


FIGURE 5.1. Classification of adnominal particles

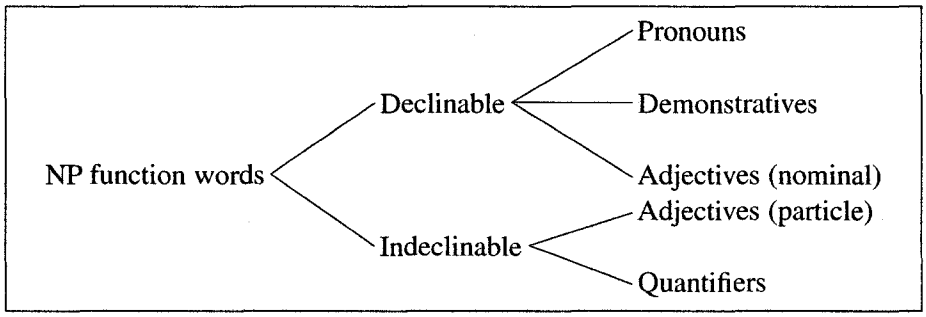


FIGURE 5.2. Classification of NP function words

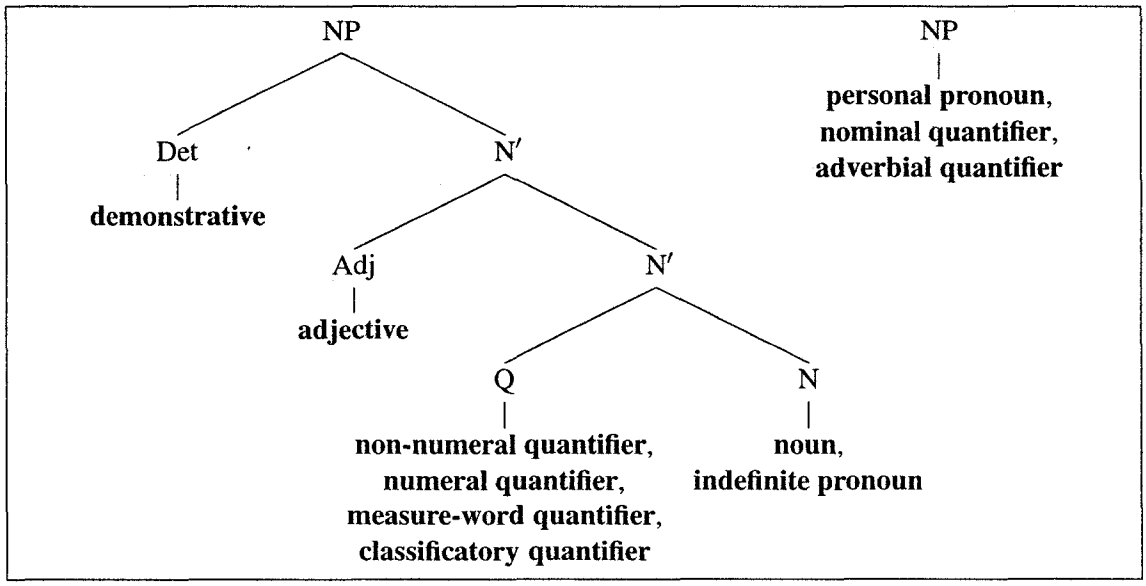


FIGURE 5.3. Syntactic positions occupied by NP function words

CHAPTER 6

PREPOSITIONS

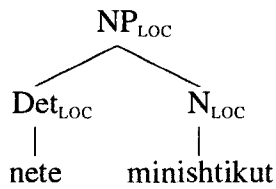
The class of prepositions contains particles that may take a noun phrase as their complement. In Innu-aimun, as in English, most prepositions carry locative meaning, prototypically denoting a spatial relationship. Not all words with locative semantics are prepositions, however, and not all prepositions are locative. It is therefore necessary to distinguish among the various classes of words with prepositional and/or locative properties before proceeding to examine the grammar of prepositions.

6.1. DISTINGUISHING AMONG PREPOSITIONAL AND/OR LOCATIVE CATEGORIES. Innu-aimun has several categories with either prepositional syntax, locative semantics, or both. There are two classes of locative-case nominals: locative demonstratives and locative nouns. As well, there are three classes of prepositions: simple locative prepositions, incorporated-noun prepositions, and functional prepositions. Finally, there is also a class of spatial adverbs. This section outlines how all of these classes are distinguished.

The locative-case forms of nouns and demonstratives have already been encountered in Chapter 3. A locative demonstrative typically accompanies a locative noun and indicates its distance from the speaker, as exemplified in (1). Unlike prepositions, locative nouns do not normally take complements.

(1) a. [$_{NP}$ *Nete* *minishtikut*] *ishitshîmeu.*
[$_{NP}$ that.LOC island.LOC] paddle.3S
'He paddled to the island.' (LITP 1-3-028)

b.

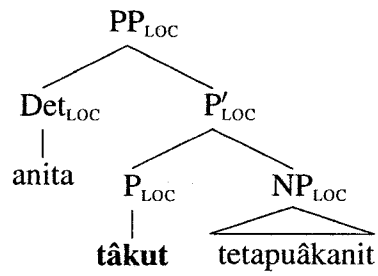


Locative nouns and demonstratives normally have corresponding non-locative forms. However, I argue that there is also a small set of EXCLUSIVELY LOCATIVE NOUNS which are grammatically identical to locative nouns but lack non-locative equivalents.

The three classes of PREPOSITIONS each contain particles that take noun phrases as their complements. Members of the first class, SIMPLE LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONS, take a locative NP complement and may be preceded by a locative demonstrative, as in (2).

(2) a. [$_{PP}$ *Anita* ***tâkut*** *tetapuâkanit*] *nîmuat* *auâssat.*
[$_{PP}$ the.LOC on.top couch.LOC] dance.3P child.3P
'The kids are dancing on the couch.' (WO 1-11-6)

b.

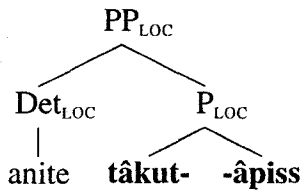


Members of the class of INCORPORATED-NOUN PREPOSITIONS differ from simple locative prepositions in that they are morphologically complex, containing both a prepositional morpheme and a nominal morpheme. Like simple locative prepositions, they may be pre-

ceded by a locative demonstrative, as in (3). As shown in Section 6.4.1, many incorporated-noun prepositions may take a locative NP complement.

(3) a. *Tshuâpâtenâu â [PP anite **tâkutâpiss**]?*
2.see.2P QST [PP the.LOC on.top.mountain]
'Did you see it on top of the mountain?' (WO 2-1-60)

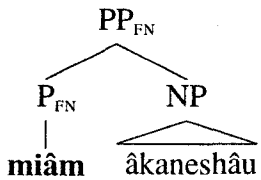
b.



In contrast with the other two prepositional classes, FUNCTIONAL PREPOSITIONS are not involved with locative case and have no connection with locative semantics. A functional preposition, as exemplified in (4), takes a non-locative NP complement and is not preceded by a locative demonstrative.

(4) a. [PP ***Miâm*** *âkaneshâu*] *eukuan eshinâkushit, uâpishîu.*
[PP like Englishman] it.is IC.looks.like.CONJ.3S be.white.3S
'Like a white man, that's how he looks; he's white.' (LITP 1-3-011)

b.

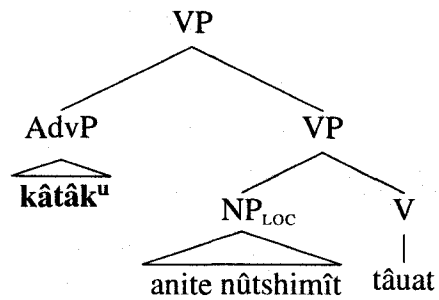


In addition to locative nominals and prepositions, locative notions are also expressed by SPATIAL ADVERBS, as in (5). Unlike locative prepositions, spatial adverbs do not take an NP complement.[1] They are also not normally preceded by a locative demonstrative, unlike both locative prepositions and locative nouns.

[1]They may co-occur with a locative NP, but the adverb and the NP do not form a constituent.

(5) a. *Ek^{u}* ***kâtâk^{u}*** [$_{NP}$ *anite* *nûtshimît*] *tâuat.*
and.then far.away [$_{NP}$ the.LOC country.LOC] be.3P
'They were far away in the country.' (LITP 4-2-035)

b.



The diagram in (5b) represents the adverb *kâtâk^{u}* as a modifier of the VP while the locative NP *anite nûtshimît* is shown as a complement of the verb. The difference between modifiers and complements is discussed further in Section 6.2.2 below.

The distinctions among prepositional and/or locative categories may be summarized using three criteria: (1) transitivity, (2) nominality, and (3) word order. The first criterion, transitivity, refers to the ability to take a nominal complement, a property shared by simple locative prepositions, incorporated-noun prepositions, and functional prepositions. The second criterion, nominality, judges whether or not the category is "noun-like," a somewhat vague notion that, here, is identified with the ability to be preceded by a demonstrative.[2] By this criterion, not only are locative nouns and demonstratives nominal, but so are simple locative prepositions and incorporated-noun prepositions.[3] The third criterion, word order, refers to the syntactic environment in which the class most commonly occurs. Table 6.1 summarizes the properties of the prepositional and/or locative categories along these lines.

[2]Or with simply *being* a demonstrative, for the locative demonstratives themselves.
[3]This perhaps surprising property of locative prepositions is discussed in Section 6.3.3.

TABLE 6.1. Summary of prepositional and/or locative categories

Class	Transitive	Nominal	Word order
Demonstrative, locative	–	+	[NP **Det** N], [PP **Det** P NP]
Noun, locative	–	+	[NP Det **N**], [PP Det P **NP**]
Preposition, locative	+	+	[PP Det **P** NP]
Preposition, incorporated-noun	+	+	[PP Det **P**-N]
Preposition, functional	+	–	[PP **P** NP]
Spatial adverb	–	–	**AdvP** ([NP Det N])

The remainder of this chapter presents an overview of the grammar of Innu-aimun prepositions. Before discussing prepositions themselves, it is first necessary to examine the class of locative-case nominals (§6.2), which are so closely involved with prepositions that they must be carefully described in order to clarify the similarities, differences, and interactions between the two categories. The subsequent sections examine the three major prepositional classes: simple locative prepositions (§6.3), incorporated-noun prepositions (§6.4), and functional prepositions (§6.5). The remaining class in Table 6.1, spatial adverbs, is described in Chapter 7.

6.2. LOCATIVE-CASE NOMINALS. Although locative-case nominals are not prepositions, the two classes are closely related. Independent locative NPs serve the same grammatical functions as prepositional phrases do, and locative-case nominals also often occur within the prepositional phrase. Furthermore, as mentioned above, locative prepositions have certain nominal properties. In order to keep the distinction between the two categories clear, this section examines the properties of locative-case nominals, discussing the use of the term "locative case" (§6.2.1), describing the structure and distribution of locative-case

NPs (§6.2.2), and proposing the existence of a class of "exclusively locative nouns" which do not have non-locative counterparts (§6.2.3).

6.2.1. WHY LOCATIVE CASE? Chapter 3 argued that locative demonstratives should be seen as the locative-case forms of regular demonstratives, just as locative nouns are the locative-case forms of regular nouns. The use of the term "case" in the first place, however, still remains to be justified. Locative case is "the form taken by a noun phrase... when it typically expresses the idea of location of an entity or action" (Crystal 2003: 276). The examples in (6) illustrate the Sanskrit locative case suffixes *-ām* and *-ṇi*.

(6)

Nominative	Locative	
nadī 'river'	*nadyām* 'at/in the river'	
vāri 'water'	*vāriṇi* 'at/in the water'	(Gonda 1966: 20–23)

From a purely descriptive viewpoint, the Innu-aimun locative suffix *-(î)t*, exemplified in (7), seems to make exactly the same contribution as the Sanskrit locative case suffixes do.[4]

(7)

Non-locative	Locative
shîpû 'river'	*shîpît* 'at/in the river'
nipî 'water'	*nipît* 'at/in the water'

[4]The locative suffix has several allomorphs, as described by Clarke (1982). When added to a consonant-final stem, the suffix is normally realized as *-ît* (*mîtshuâp* 'house' → *mîtshuâpît* 'at the house'). After *n*, however, the suffix vowel is short (*shâkaikan* 'lake' → *shâkaikanit* 'at/in the lake'). After a labialized consonant (k^u or m^u), the suffix is realized as *-ut* (*massek^u* 'swamp' → *massekut* 'at/in the swamp').

When added to a vowel-final stem, the suffix is normally realized as *-t* (*nipî* 'water' → *nipît* 'at/in the water'). Most stems ending with the vowel *û*, however, behave differently: the *û* deletes and is replaced by *-ît* (*shîpû* 'river' → *shîpît* 'at/in the river'). The *-t* suffix replaces the second element of a diphthong and the preceding vowel lengthens if it is short (*meshkanau* 'road' → *meshkanât* 'at/on the road').

If the locative suffix were indeed a case marker, then it would be an inflectional morpheme rather than a derivational one. This contradicts Clarke (1982: 19), who groups the locative suffix with the "relatively minor derivational categories." However, as Cyr (1993a) notes, this classification is somewhat dubious. Derivational morphology serves to create new words. For example, the English derivational prefix *un-*, added to the word *do*, derives the new word *undo*. The locative suffix does not seem to have the same effect. Intuitively, at least, *shîpû* 'river' and *shîpît* 'at the river' do not seem like two distinct words, but rather two alternative, grammatically-determined forms of the same word—the typical result of inflectional, not derivational, morphology. Furthermore, Cyr points out that the locative suffix is mutually exclusive with the plural suffix, which is indisputably inflectional. If the locative suffix were not also a part of the system of inflectional morphology, this mutual exclusivity would be difficult to explain. For these reasons, it seems best to conclude that the locative suffix is inflectional, not derivational.

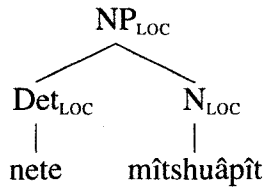
As an inflectional suffix that attaches to a noun and expresses the idea of location, locative *-(î)t* naturally lends itself to being described as a locative case marker.[5] This label recognizes the obvious parallel with the locative case inflection found in many other languages, thus indicating that the Innu-aimun locative suffix is not a particularly exotic feature. The use of the term "locative case" in this thesis should be taken only in this general, descriptive sense, and is not meant to preclude a more theoretically sophisticated analysis that views the suffix as something other than a case marker.[6]

[5]The term "locative case" is used not only by Cyr (1993a) for Innu-aimun *-(î)t*, but also by Starks (1992) for the corresponding morpheme in Woods Cree.

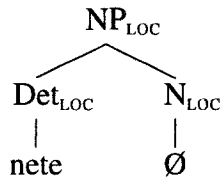
[6]For example, it may be possible to analyze the locative suffix as an affixal preposition, as suggested for Mohawk by Baker (1996). This possibility is briefly entertained in the discussion of incorporated-noun prepositions in Section 6.4.1 below.

6.2.2. THE STRUCTURE AND DISTRIBUTION OF LOCATIVE NPS. As discussed in Section 3.3.3, a locative demonstrative typically joins with a locative noun to form a locative NP, as in (8a). The noun may be null (or "understood"), as in (8b), in which case the locative demonstrative will appear to form an NP all on its own.

(8) a. *nete mîtshuâpît* 'at that house'



b. *nete* 'there' (lit. 'at that (place)')



The locative demonstrative is often separated from the noun it accompanies, occurring in a pre-verbal position:

(9) a. *Nûsh* ***anite*** *tâu* ***utâpânit.***
Rose the.LOC be.3S car.LOC
'Rose is in the car.' (WO 2-4-20)

b. ***Nete*** *nititûtetân* ***tshâinîsh-mîtshishûtshûapît.***
that.LOC 1.go.PRET.1P Chinese-restaurant.LOC
'We went to the Chinese restaurant.' (WO 4-2-3)

As noted in Chapter 5, quantifiers are often separated from the nouns they modify in exactly the same way, a process that Reinholtz (1999) analyzes as serving to emphasize the pre-verbal element.

It is, of course, not obligatory for a locative noun to be accompanied by a demonstrative. Locative nouns may occur alone as NPs, as in (10).

(10) [$_{NP}$ ***Mishkumît***] *tâu* *ne* *atîk*^{u}
[$_{NP}$ ice.LOC] be.3S that caribou
'The caribou was on the ice.' (LITP 2-7-054)

The preceding discussion has described the internal structure of locative NPs. In order to fully describe their syntax, however, it is also necessary to examine their distribution—that is, the roles they may play in a sentence. Locative NPs serve two distinct grammatical functions. They often act as adverbial modifiers, as demonstrated in Section 3.3.3, but they may also occur as the complement of a goal-selecting verb. To understand the difference between these two roles, first consider some equivalent English examples.

A prepositional phrase is the closest English equivalent to an Innu-aimun locative NP. Like locative NPs, English PPs serve two distinct functions, acting either as adverbial modifiers or as complements. The PPs in (11) are adverbial modifiers.

(11) a. I read a book [$_{PP}$ in the car].
b. We ate lunch [$_{PP}$ under the bridge].

Adverbial PPs provide information about a *circumstance* of the event denoted by the verb. The PP *in the car*, for example, identifies the setting where the event of reading took place.

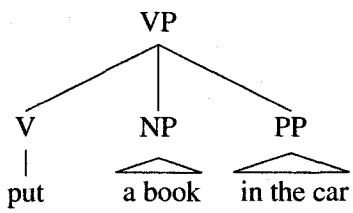
Complement PPs, on the other hand, do not identify a circumstance. Rather, they occur with verbs that denote events involving motion or transfer and express the *endpoint* of this motion or transfer, as in (12).

(12) a. I put a book [$_{PP}$ in the car].
b. We went [$_{PP}$ under the bridge].

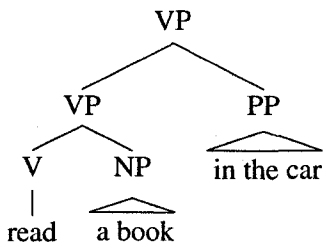
The PP *in the car*, for example, tells where the book ended up as a result of the action of the verb. Note the contrast between the PPs in (11) and (12). The adverbial PPs in (11) provide extra information about a circumstance of the event, while the complement PPs in (12) are an inherent part of the event itself.

The distinction between complement and adverbial PPs may be represented using tree diagrams as shown in (13). The close relationship between a complement PP and the verb can be captured by joining the complement PP directly with the verb on an equal footing with the verb's object. An adverbial PP, on the other hand, can be represented as a modifier that adjoins to the edge of the verb phrase just as adverbs do.

(13) a. Complement PP



b. Adverbial PP



Innu-aimun locative NPs have the same general distribution as English PPs. The NP in (14a) is an adverbial modifier, while the NP in (14b) is a complement of the verb.

(14) a. *Nimîtshishûtân* [$_{NP}$ *anite* *utâpânit*].
1.eat.PRET.1P [$_{NP}$ the.LOC car.LOC]
'We ate in the car.' (WO 3-2-24)

b. *Nititûte* [$_{NP}$ *anite* *atâuitshuâpît*].
go.PRET.1S [$_{NP}$ the.LOC store.LOC]
'I went to the store.' (WO 3-1-24)

The distinction between adverbial and complement roles is important because it correlates with another grammatical distinction. Consider the examples in (15) and (16), in which a locative NP follows the verb. In the examples in (15), the locative NP is a complement of the verb. In this role, the noun may occur either with or without a demonstrative:

(15) a. 'I went to the store.' (WO 3-1-24)

(i) *Nititûte*[7] [NP *anite* *atâuitshuâpît*].
go.PRET.1S [NP the.LOC store.LOC]

(ii) *Nititûte* [NP *atâuitshuâpît*].
go.PRET.1S [NP store.LOC]

b. 'We brought him to the hospital.' (WO 3-1-40)

(i) *Nititûtiâtân* [NP *anite* *natûkûnitshuâpît*].
bring.PRET.1P>.3 [NP the.LOC hospital.LOC]

(ii) *Nititûtiâtân* [NP *natûkûnitshuâpît*].
bring.PRET.1P>.3 [NP hospital.LOC]

c. 'They went to his place.' (WO 2-2-25)

(i) *Itûteuat* [NP *anite* *uîtshinît*].
go.3P [NP the.LOC home.3′.LOC]

(ii) *Itûteuat* [NP *uîtshinît*].
go.3P [NP home.3′.LOC]

When the locative NP is an adverbial modifier, however, as in the examples in (16), the noun must obligatorily be accompanied by a demonstrative. If it occurs without a demonstrative, speakers typically feel that the sentence is incomplete or does not make sense.

[7]In the standard orthography, this form is written as *nititûtetî*. The final *tî* is not pronounced in Labrador.

(16) a. 'We ate in the car.' (WO 3-2-24)

(i) *Nimîtshishûtân* [NP *anite* *utâpânit*].
1.eat.PRET.1P [NP the.LOC car.LOC]

(ii) **Nimîtshishûtân* [NP *utâpânit*].
1.eat.PRET.1P [NP car.LOC]

b. 'The car broke down on the bridge.' (WO 1-12-14)

(i) *Pîkutâpâneshinû* [NP *anita* *âshûkanit*].
have.car.trouble.3S [NP the.LOC bridge.LOC]

(ii) **Pîkutâpâneshinû* [NP *âshûkanit*].
have.car.trouble.3S [NP bridge.LOC]

c. 'The kids are dancing in the store.' (WO 2-3-7)

(i) *Auâssat* *nîmuat* [NP *anite* *atâuitshuâpît*].
child.3P dance.3P [NP the.LOC store.LOC]

(ii) **Auâssat* *nîmuat* [NP *atâuitshuâpît*].
child.3P dance.3P [NP store.LOC]

How can we account for this difference? Since goal-oriented verbs like *itûteu* 'go' and *itûtieu* 'bring' denote events that inherently involve a locative endpoint, let us assume that these verbs "license" the presence of a locative noun. This licensing allows the locative noun to occur freely either with or without a demonstrative, as in (15). On the other hand, since non-goal-oriented verbs like *mîtshishû* 'eat' and *nîmû* 'dance' do not inherently involve a locative endpoint, let us assume that they do not license the presence of a locative noun. In order for a locative noun to co-occur with one of these verbs, it must bring its own means of licensing. This licensing function could plausibly be performed by a locative demonstrative, thus explaining why the demonstrative is obligatory in (16).[8]

[8]Readers familiar with Minimalist syntax will recognize that the basic insight of this account could be captured with more precision by the mechanism of feature-checking.

This account nicely explains the distribution of locative NPs in post-verbal position. In sentence-initial position, however, the pattern discussed above does not hold. The post-verbal adverbial NPs in (16) above obligatorily contain a demonstrative, but when the same adverbial NPs are placed in sentence-initial position, the demonstrative becomes optional:

(17) a. 'The kids are dancing in the store.' (WO 2-3-7)

(i) [NP *Anite atâuitshuâpît*] *nîmuat auâssat.*
[NP the.LOC store.LOC] dance.3P child.3P

(ii) [NP *Atâuitshuâpît*] *nîmuat auâssat.*
[NP store.LOC] dance.3P child.3P

b. 'We ate in the car.' (WO 3-2-24)

(i) [NP *Anite utâpânit*] *nimîtshishûtân.*
[NP the.LOC car.LOC] 1.eat.PRET.1P

(ii) [NP *Utâpânit*] *nimîtshishûtân.*
[NP car.LOC] 1.eat.PRET.1P

If an adverbial locative NP must obligatorily be licenced by a demonstrative, as proposed above, then why are demonstratives optional sentence-initially? Let us assume that the left edge of a sentence provides a special pragmatic position that expresses either topicalization, as suggested for Innu-aimun by Branigan and MacKenzie (2002b: 112), or focus, as proposed for East Cree by Junker (2004).[9] Perhaps this syntactically peripheral topic/focus position isolates an NP from grammatical constraints that would normally affect it. This

[9]I will neutrally refer to this position as a "topic/focus" position, since its precise character is not crucial to the current discussion; it must simply be on the "left periphery" in the sense of Rizzi 1997.

"escape-hatch" effect would explain why adverbial locative NPs in initial position may occur without an otherwise obligatory demonstrative.[10]

Locative NPs that serve as complements may also typically occur in initial position either with or without demonstratives, as in (18). This is no different from their post-verbal behaviour illustrated in (15).

(18) 'They went to his place.' (WO 2-2-25)

a. [NP *Anite* *uîtshinît*] *itûteuat.*
[NP the.LOC home.3′.LOC] go.3P

b. [NP *Uîtshinît*] *itûteuat.*
[NP home.3′.LOC] go.3P

In certain cases, however, it appears impossible for a sentence-initial locative NP to function as a complement at all. For example, the locative NP *anite uîtshinît* 'to/at his house' acts as a complement when it occurs post-verbally in (19a), but must obligatorily be interpreted as an adverbial modifier when it occurs sentence-initially in (19b).

(19) a. *Ashinîa* *pimûshinâtaikâtsheuat* [NP *anite* *uîtshinît*].
rock.3P throw.3P [NP the.LOC home.3′.LOC]
'They were throwing rocks at his house.'

b. ?[NP *Anite* *uîtshinît*] *pimûshinâtaikâtsheuat* *ashinîa.*
[NP the.LOC home.3′.LOC] throw.3P rock.3P
'In his house, they were throwing rocks.'
(cannot mean 'throwing rocks at his house') (WO 2-1-12)

[10]Note, however, that for certain speakers, a demonstrative is required even in initial position. For these speakers, the topic/focus position may not act as an "escape hatch" to the same degree. Alternatively, it is possible that these speakers did not interpret the sentence-initial NP as occupying a topic/focus position.

The impossibility of the complement reading in (19b) could plausibly be due to the aforementioned topic/focus nature of the sentence-initial position. In certain cases, at least, the topic/focus position may be so syntactically removed from the verb that it severs the semantic link between the verb and its potential locative complement, thus leaving no alternative but for the locative NP to be interpreted as an adverbial modifier. Just as the syntactically peripheral nature of the topic/focus position may isolate an adverbial NP from its normal grammatical obligations, so too may it isolate a potential complement NP from its necessarily close connection with the verb.

This concludes the lengthy discussion of the syntax of locative NPs. This section has illustrated that locative NPs may occur both as complements and as adverbial modifiers. In post-verbal position, a demonstrative occurs optionally with complement NPs and obligatorily with adverbial NPs. In sentence-initial position, demonstratives are normally optional for both types of NPs. In certain cases, the complement reading is impossible sentence-initially. As outlined above, these patterns can potentially be explained by an analysis with two key components: the licensing of locative case and the existence of a sentence-initial topic/focus position. In order to make such an analysis more explicit and rigorous, however, further research—both analytical and empirical—is required.

6.2.3. EXCLUSIVELY LOCATIVE NOUNS. Locative nouns usually have a corresponding non-locative form. The locative noun *mîtshuâpît* 'at the house,' for example, corresponds with the non-locative noun *mîtshuâp* 'house.' There is, however, a small class of words which appear to be locative nouns but which do not have non-locative counterparts. The word *minâshkuât* 'in the woods,' for example, behaves exactly like a locative

TABLE 6.2. List of exclusively locative nouns

ishpimît	'in the air, up above'
kâtanut	'in a secret place'
minâshkuât	'in the woods'
nâshipetimît	'on the shore, bank, beach'
nûtshimît	'inland, in the bush'
pîtakamît	'indoors, on the inside'
ueshkat	'in the past'
uiesh	'somewhere'
unuîtamît	'outdoors, on the outside'

noun does, yet does not correspond with a non-locative noun **minâshkuâ* 'woods.' Such "exclusively locative" nouns are listed in Table 6.2.[11]

Although they lack non-locative counterparts, exclusively locative nouns are otherwise morphologically, semantically, and syntactically identical to normal locative nouns. Morphologically, many appear to carry the locative suffix *-(î)t* (indicated by boldface in the table). Semantically, they all denote location at a particular place or time.[12] Syntactically, they share the same distribution as normal locative nouns, typically occurring with a preceding locative demonstrative and acting either as adverbial modifiers, as in (20), or as complements of the verb, as in (21).

(20) a. *Mishta-mîtshetû atîk^{u}* [$_{NP}$ *anite* ***pîtakamît***].
very-be.many.3 caribou [$_{NP}$ the.LOC inside.LOC]
'There were a lot of caribou inside.' (LITP 1-7-021)

[11]Note that although *minâshkuât* 'in the woods' has no corresponding non-locative noun, it does appear to be related to the II verb *minâshkuâu* 'it is woods.' For more about the derivation of locative nouns from verb stems, see the discussion of bare-NP adverbs in Chapter 7 (§7.1.1).

[12]The ability of locative forms to refer to locations in time as well as space is discussed in Section 6.3.1.

b. [NP *Nete* ***ueshkat***] *nânitam innuat natauiepanat.*
[NP that.LOC past.LOC] always person.3P hunt.PRET.3P
'In the past, people always hunted.' (WO 1-3-21)

(21) a. *Ekue itûtet* [NP *anite* ***minâshkuât***] *ne ishkueu.*
and.then go.CONJ.3S [NP the.LOC woods.LOC] that woman
'Then the woman went into the forest.' (LITP 1-5-005)

b. [...] *nâsht ne* [NP ***nâshipetimît***] *nika ashtânân.*
really that [NP shore.LOC] 1.FUT put.1P
'[...] we will really put it on the shore.' (LITP 4-3-409)

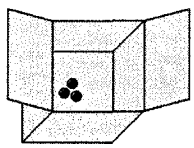
Despite the properties these words share with locative nouns, one might object to labeling them as such because they lack non-locative counterparts. Would they be more appropriately placed in one of the other prepositional and/or locative categories outlined in Section 6.1? It seems not. The words in Table 6.2 are clearly not locative demonstratives, nor are they simple locative prepositions, as they do not take complements. They are also not incorporated-noun prepositions, as they do not consist of a prepositonal root joined with an incorporated noun. Finally, they cannot be spatial adverbs, as they are typically preceded by a locative demonstrative, unlike adverbs; furthermore, they may occur as the complement of a verb, as in (21), a role which an adverb cannot perform.

Since no other category label is appropriate, and since the words in question have all but one property in common with locative nouns, it seems that the classification as locative nouns is indeed the right one. We may see these exclusively locative nouns as morphologically "defective" nouns that have only a locative-case form. The existence of such defective lexical items is not particularly exotic. English, for example, has a set of "*pluralia tantum*" nouns which have plural forms but no singular forms, such as *scissors* and *jeans*. There is,

in principle, no difference between exclusively locative nouns in Innu-aimun and *pluralia tantum* nouns in English. Just as *pluralia tantum* nouns are always inflected for plurality, so are exclusively locative nouns always inflected for locative case.

As a footnote to this discussion, note that the classification of *pîtakamît* 'indoors, on the inside' as an exclusively locative noun, as indicated in Table 6.2, is uncertain; it is possible that *pîtakamît* may instead be a preposition.[13] In certain instances, *pîtakamît* does clearly act as a locative noun. In (22), for example, it occurs as the complement of the preposition *tetâut*. (A small image is included to clarify the meaning of this sentence.)

(22) *Tetâut anite* ***pîtakamît*** *apûat tûânat.*
in.middle the.LOC inside.LOC sit.3P ball.3P
'The balls are in the middle of the inside.' (WO 1-2-10)



In other instances, however, *pîtakamît* appears to act as a preposition. In (23), for example, it seems to take the locative NP *(anite) mîtshuâpît* as a complement.

(23) 'Joseph is inside the house.' (WO 1-11-4)

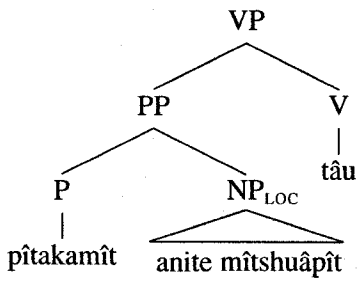
a. *Shûshep* ***pîtakamît*** *anite mîtshuâpît tâu.*
Joseph inside.LOC the.LOC house.LOC be.3S

b. *?Shûshep anite* ***pîtakamît*** *mîtshuâpît tâu.*
Joseph the.LOC inside.LOC house.LOC be.3S

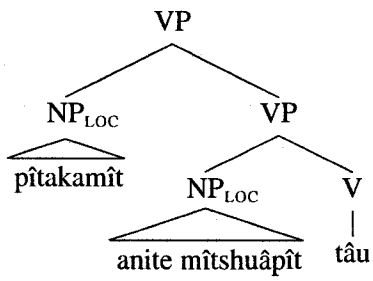
[13]For the same reasons, uncertainty also arises regarding the classification of *unuîtamît* 'outdoors, on the outside,' the antonym of *pîtakamît*. For the sake of simplicity, only *pîtakamît* is discussed here.

Whether *pîtakamît* truly acts as a preposition in (23), however, is doubtful. Note that the preferred order, shown in (23a), is for the demonstrative *anite* to follow *pîtakamît*; when the demonstrative precedes *pîtakamît*, as in (23b), the acceptability of the sentence degrades. With true prepositions, however, the tendency is exactly the opposite: in sentence-medial prepositional phrases, the demonstrative most naturally precedes the preposition rather than following it, as shown in Section 6.3.1 below. In (23a), then, *pîtakamît* does not have the distribution of a typical preposition. If we analyze *pîtakamît* as a locative noun, however, its distribution in (23a) is unsurprising. As a locative noun, *pîtakamît* may occur as a separate constituent from *anite mîtshuâpît*, with *anite mîtshuâpît* acting as the complement of the verb and *pîtakamît* acting as an adverbial modifier. The two alternative analyses of *pîtakamît* are contrasted in (24).

(24) a. *pîtakamît* as preposition



b. *pîtakamît* as adverbial NP



Both analyses are plausible. Given the available data, I have tentatively classified *pîtakamît* as an exclusively locative noun, but further data could instead weigh in favour of the prepositional analysis. In any event, the foregoing discussion of *pîtakamît* illustrates an important point: assigning words to categories cannot always be accomplished by simple diagnostic tests. Even though *pîtakamît* may appear next to a locative NP, as in (23), this is not incontrovertible evidence that it must be a preposition. In order to make a truly informed

decision about a word's category membership, we cannot draw conclusions based on a single property—rather, we must take the word's entire array of properties into account.

6.3. SIMPLE LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONS. Now that the properties of locative nouns and demonstratives have been described, we may proceed to the main topic of this chapter: prepositions. This section examines simple locative prepositions, the class of morphologically simple particles that may take a locative-case NP as their complement. The section describes the basic properties of simple locative prepositions (§6.3.1), examines their syntax (§6.3.2), and discusses their noun-like nature (§6.3.3).

6.3.1. BASIC PROPERTIES OF SIMPLE LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONS. Many of the simple locative prepositions of Innu-aimun are listed in Table 6.3, which includes examples from both the Sheshatshiu and Betsiamites dialects.[14] Simple locative prepositions are defined by their ability to take a complement NP in the locative case. They are also often accompanied by a locative demonstrative. Together, the demonstrative, preposition, and NP appear to form a prepositional phrase, as argued in Section 6.3.2 below. The default word order in such a locative PP, as illustrated in (25), is for the demonstrative to precede the preposition, which in turn precedes the locative NP. (For ease of identification, the PP is bolded and the P is underlined here and in subsequent examples.)

[14] As noted by Clarke (1982: 34) and indicated in the table, certain prepositions seem to end in the familiar locative suffix *-(i)t*.

TABLE 6.3. List of simple locative prepositions

Simple prepositions	
âitû 'on both sides (of)'	*pinashû* 'going down'
âkû 'behind, hidden from view'	*pîtashue* 'inside'
âpam 'behind/on the other side (of)'	*pîtute* 'inside'
âpitû 'halfway along'	*shâpûtue* 'straight ahead (of), through'
enakâm 'on this side (of)'	*shîpâ* 'under, underneath'
itetshe 'in the direction of'	*shek*^{u} 'under, below'
kueshte 'on the other side (of)'	*tâkut* 'on top (of)'
kueshtetshe 'on the other side (of) (distant)'	*tâshtuît* 'in between'
matshiteu 'on the point (of)'	*tâueu* 'in the middle/centre'
nâmûn 'downwind (of), east (of)'	*tashtuaît* 'in between, in the middle'
nanim 'on the windward side (of), north (of)'	*tetip* 'all around, along the circumference (of)'
napate 'on one side (of)'	*tipakâm* 'opposite'
nimitâu 'from the edge to the centre (of)'	*uâshkâ* 'all around, along the circumference (of)'
nuâsh 'as far as, up to'	*upime* 'near, outside, apart from'
pâshit 'passing over'	*ûsheu* 'beyond, on the other side'
pessîsh 'near, close to'	*ûshte* 'beyond, past'
pîmakâm 'diagonally across'	*ussit* 'on the surface (of), on top (of)'
pimit 'across'	*ût* 'from'
Simple prepositions possibly ending in locative *-(î)t*	
akâmît 'on the other side (of)'	*tetâut* 'in the middle, halfway along'
atâmît 'in, at the bottom (of), under'	*tshîtshit* 'very close (to), on the edge (of)'
enât 'below'	*ûnashkût* 'at the end/edge (of)'
nîtât 'at the bottom/foot (of)'	*utât* 'behind'

(25) [PP Det P NP]

a. ***Anite*** ***shek^{u}*** ***mishtikut*** *tâuat.*
the.LOC under tree.LOC be.3P
'They're under the trees.' (WO 4-1-26)

b. *Nimessipimîkâshinân* ***nete*** ***tetâut*** ***meshkanât.***
1.run.out.of.gas.1P that.LOC halfway.along road.LOC
'We ran out of gas halfway along the road.' (WO 6-1-3)

It may seem strange to recognize a demonstrative as forming part of a prepositional phrase, since demonstratives are normally associated with nouns. Innu-aimun locative prepositions, however, are more noun-like than their English equivalents, as discussed in Section 6.3.3 below. This "nominality" is what allows a locative preposition to be accompanied by a demonstrative. As with nouns, use of the demonstrative is typically optional. The PPs in (26), for example, do not contain a demonstrative.

(26) [PP P NP]

a. ***Âkû*** ***mishtikut*** *kâshû.*
behind tree.LOC hide.3S
'S/he is hiding behind a tree.' (WO 1-8-7)

b. ***Ûshte*** ***Nûsh*** ***uîtshuât*** *nipimûtenân.*
beyond Rose 3.house.3P.LOC 1.walk.1P
'We walked past Rose's house.'[15] (WO 1-12-4)

The complement NP is also optional. When it is omitted, we may say that the preposition is syntactically intransitive, as in the examples in (27).

[15]As *uîtshuât* bears the third-person plural possessive suffix *-uâ(u)*, a more accurate (though somewhat clumsy) translation would be 'We walked past the house of Rose and them.'

(27) [$_{PP}$ Det P]

a. *Tshika nushkaikanîtshuâpitshen* ***anite*** ***kueshte.***
2.FUT extend.tent.2S the.LOC other.side
'You will make an extension to the tent there on the other side.' (LITP 4-3-134)

b. *Umishkumîmîshapan* ***anite*** ***atâmît.***
have.ice.DUB.3S the.LOC in/under
'He must have had ice inside (himself).' (LITP 1-4-164)

Since both the demonstrative and the complement NP are optional, it is possible for a preposition to occur alone as a PP, as in the examples in (28).

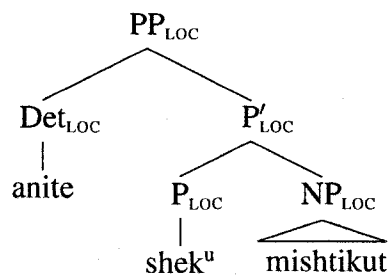
(28) [$_{PP}$ P]

a. *Shâsh* ***âpitû*** *ishkussuenua.*
already halfway.down sink.3'S
'She had already sunk halfway down.' (LITP 1-3-024)

b. ***Shek^{u}*** *tâuat tûânat.*
under be.3P ball.3P
'The balls are under it.' (WO 1-2-2)

Based on the preceding examples, the tree diagram in (29) illustrates the structure of the Innu-aimun locative PP.

(29)



Note that a preposition may take more than just a bare noun as its complement. In (26b), for example, the preposition *ûshte* takes the complement *Nûsh uîtshuât* 'Rose's house,' thus demonstrating that the complement of a locative preposition is indeed an NP rather than simply a bare N. It is very rare, however, for this NP complement to contain a demonstrative. Rather, if a demonstrative occurs within the PP at all, it normally occurs immediately before the preposition itself, in the position illustrated in (29).[16]

The structure in (29) captures the default word order of the locative PP. The components of the PP are not always adjacent to one another, however. They may be separated, forming a discontinuous constituent. The initial demonstrative is often detached from the remainder of the PP and placed immediately before the verb, as in the examples in (30).

(30) Det . . . [$_{PP}$ ~~Det~~ P NP]

a. *Mashkʷ* ***anite*** *nânîpû* ***âkû*** ***patshuiânitshuâpît.***
bear the.LOC stand.3S hidden.behind tent.LOC
'There was a bear standing out of sight behind the tent.' (WO 1-1-22)

b. *Mashkʷ* ***anite*** *tâu* ***pessîsh*** ***patshuiânitshuâpît.***
bear the.LOC be.3S near tent.LOC
'There's a bear next to the tent.' (WO 5-1-20)

In fact, the demonstrative and the preposition together may appear in this pre-verbal position, as in (31).

[16]This constraint does not automatically follow from the structure provided in (29), and, indeed, is somewhat difficult to account for. Nevertheless, it does constitute a very solid descriptive generalization.

(31) Det P . . . [PP ~~Det P~~ NP]

Anite ***âkû*** *tâuat* ***mishtikûtît.***
the.LOC behind be.3P box.LOC
'They're behind the box.' (WO 4-3-1)

The discontinuous constituents in examples (30)–(31) follow the pattern noted for Swampy Cree by Reinholtz (1999), in which a portion of some constituent is placed immediately before the verb, perhaps for emphatic purposes. This pattern, which we have now seen occur for quantifiers (§5.2.1), locative demonstratives (§6.2.2), and prepositions, seems to be a fundamental feature of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi syntax.[17]

Note that while the process shown in (30)–(31) separates the components of the PP, their relative order remains undisturbed—the demonstrative still precedes the preposition, which still precedes the locative NP. There is an additional process, however, that does disturb this order, causing the preposition to precede the demonstrative. This process, which normally affects only sentence-initial PPs, is discussed and exemplified in Section 6.3.2, which examines the syntax of Innu-aimun locative PPs in more detail.

In addition to three basic components discussed above, a locative PP may also contain a degree modifier such as *nâsht* 'completely' or *miâm* 'exactly,' as in (32).

(32) a. [PP ***Nâsht*** *nete* *shekᵘ* *tetapuâkanit*] *tâu* *atimᵘ*.
[PP completely that.LOC under couch.LOC] be.3S dog
'The dog is completely under the couch.' (WO 1-1-42)

b. *Ekᵘ* *eshkuâtet* *anite,* [PP *nete* *tetâut* ***miâm*** *kapatâkanit*].
then burn.3S the.LOC [PP that.LOC middle exactly portage.LOC]
'Fire then broke out there, right in the middle of the portage.' (LITP 2-5-5)

[17] An analysis of the process involved is suggested in Section 8.1.1.

Few such examples are available, so it is difficult to draw generalizations about the placement of the degree modifier. Degree modifiers are discussed further in Chapter 7.

With regard to the syntactic roles they may play in a sentence, locative PPs behave exactly like locative NPs. A locative PP may act as an adverbial modifier, as in (33a), or as a complement of the verb, as in (33b).

(33) a. *Tshika nushkaikanîtshuâpitshen* [PP ***anite*** ***kueshte***].
2.FUT extend.tent.2S [PP the.LOC other.side]
'You will make an extension to the tent there on the other side.' (LITP 4-3-134)

b. *Passe auâssat* [PP ***shekᵘ*** ***mîtshishuâkanit***] *kâshûat.*
some child.3P [PP under table.LOC] hide.3P
'Some children hid under the table.' (LITP 1-4-31)

Finally, it is important to note that while locative prepositions prototypically denote spatial relationships, they may also be interpreted in a temporal sense. The preposition *utât* 'behind,' for example, may also mean 'in the past.' This temporal use is in fact possible for locative forms in general. The locative demonstrative *anita* 'at that place,' for example, may also mean 'at that time,' as it does in (34).

(34) *Shâsh* ***anita*** *pût* *tshika* *tshîshitânân.*
already that.LOC probably 2.FUT finish.21P
'We should be finished it by then.'
(lit. 'At that time we will probably already be finished it.') (WO 1-11-51)

Cross-linguistically, it is not unusual for locatives to have this temporal function. As Lyons (1968: 298) points out, "the term 'local' must be understood to include temporal as well as spatial distinctions, since these are commonly brought together in the 'orientational'

systems associated with different languages." That is, locative forms denote relationships that may be interpreted in either spatial or temporal SEMANTIC FIELDS (Gruber 1965; Jackendoff 1990).

In summary, simple locative prepositions have the following basic properties. They may combine with a locative demonstrative and a locative NP to form a PP, which may function either as an adverbial modifier or as the complement of a verb. By default, the demonstrative precedes the preposition, which in turn precedes the complement NP. The PP may also include a degree modifier. The demonstrative (and sometimes the preposition as well) may detach from the remainder of the PP and occur pre-verbally. Finally, the meaning of the preposition may often be interpreted either spatially or temporally.

6.3.2. EVIDENCE FOR CONSTITUENCY AND ORDERING IN THE LOCATIVE PP. This section closely examines the structure of the locative PP, providing evidence in favour of the assumptions about constituency and ordering that were made in the previous section.

To this point, it has been taken for granted that demonstrative-preposition-NP sequences form a single PP constituent. As evidence that such sequences are indeed constituents, consider that they may be joined by a coordinating conjunction, as in (35).

(35) *Mânî kâtâu mîna* [PP ***anite shekᵘ ûtît***] *mâk* [PP ***anite***
Marie hide.3S berry.3P [PP the.LOC under canoe.LOC] and [PP the.LOC
âkû upatshuiânitshuâpît].
behind 3.tent.LOC]
'Marie hid the berries under her canoe and behind her tent.' (WO 6-2-10)

Furthermore, a demonstrative-preposition-NP sequence may also be focused by a focus particle like *iât* 'even, also' as in (36).[18]

(36) *Iât* [PP ***anite*** ***shekᵘ*** ***nipeunit***] *uînâkuan.*
even [PP the.LOC under bed.LOC] be.dirty.3S
'Even under the bed, it's dirty.' (WO 4-5-21)

Since a sequence of words may normally be coordinated or focused only if it is a constituent, examples (35) and (36) indicate that the identified PPs are indeed constituents.

The preceding section states not only that the PP constituent exists, however, but also that its components have a default order: demonstrative, then preposition, then NP. This order is by far the most common in texts and elicitations. Aside from its frequency, there is also syntactic evidence that this order is the default. Consider the Innu-aimun translation of sentences like those in (37), in which a PP is focused.

(37) a. Even [PP under the bed], it's dirty.

b. Even [PP across the river], you can smell it.

Innu-aimun speakers typically provide two alternative ways to translate such sentences. It is possible to combine the PP with the focus particle *iât* 'even, also' as in (38).

(38) a. *Iât* [PP *anite* *shekᵘ* *nipeunit*] *uînâkuan.*
even [PP the.LOC under bed.LOC] be.dirty.3S
'Even under the bed, it's dirty.' (WO 4-5-21)

b. *Iât* [PP *anite* *akâmît*] *minâkuan.*
even [PP the.LOC other.side] be.smelly.3S
'Even across (the river), you can smell it.' (WO 4-1-17)

[18]Focus particles are discussed in Chapter 8.

There is an equally natural alternative, however, in which a focus particle is not used. Instead, the preposition may be moved to the beginning of the sentence, as in (39). (For clarity, a blank space illustrates the position that the preposition would otherwise occupy.)

(39) a. ***Shekᵘ*** [PP *anite* ___ *nipeunit*] *uînâkuan.*
under [PP the.LOC bed.LOC] be.dirty.3S
'(Even) under the bed, it's dirty.' (WO 4-5-21)

b. ***Akâmît*** [PP *anite* ___] *minâkuan.*
other.side [PP the.LOC] be.smelly.3S
'(Even) across (the river), you can smell it.' (WO 4-1-17)

This pattern was confirmed by four speakers, who all spontaneously offered both types of translations.

By comparing the structure of the examples in (38) and (39), we can gain insight into the syntax of the locative PP. Both sets of examples involve focus, and in both cases, the focused element occurs sentence-initially. Let us assume, then, that there is a special focus position at the beginning of an Innu-aimun sentence, as represented in (40), and that a constituent must be associated with this position in order to be focused.[19]

(40) [FOC] [PP *anite shekᵘ nipeunit*] *uînâkuan.*

How may a PP become associated with the focus position? One way, apparently, is to combine the PP with a focus particle such as *iât*, as in (38), and to place this combination in the focus position. This method is illustrated in (41).

[19]Many analyses of Algonquian syntax recognize that the sentence-initial position is associated with focus and/or topicalization. See, for example, Dahlstrom 1995 (Fox), Branigan and MacKenzie 2002a (Innu-aimun), and Junker 2004 (East Cree).

(41) [FOC ***iât*** *anite shek" nipeunit*] *uînâkuan.*

Alternatively, it seems possible to move the preposition itself directly into the focus position, as in (39). This method is illustrated in (42).

(42) [FOC ***shek"***] [PP *anite* ~~*shek"*~~ *nipeunit*] *uînâkuan.*

Crucially, the preposition-initial word order in (42) is a marked order that occurs only when *shek"* is displaced for focus purposes. When focus is indicated by other means, such as by a dedicated focus particle, the demonstrative-initial order is used instead, as in (41); it is this demonstrative-initial order that is normally found in non-focus contexts as well. It seems, then, that the preposition-initial order occurs only in response to a specific pragmatic requirement, while the demonstrative-initial order is the default, "elsewhere" case.

For descriptive purposes, it is worth noting that although the focus-induced preposition-initial order is not the default, it does frequently occur in sentence-initial PPs, as in the examples in (43).

(43) a. ***Tâkut*** [PP *anita* ___ *tetapuâkanit*] *nîmuat* *auâssat.*
on.top [PP the.LOC couch.LOC] dance.3P child.3P
'The kids danced on the couch.' (WO 1-11-6)

b. ***Pessîsh*** [PP *anita* ___ *kashkûnit*] *pimipanû* *kâpimipanit.*
near [PP the.LOC cloud.LOC] go.along.3S plane
'The plane flew near the clouds.' (WO 1-4-42)

c. ***Akâmît*** [PP *anite* ___] *uepimitam".*
other.side [PP the.LOC] throw
'He threw it across the river.' (WO 4-1-11)

This "preposition fronting" process is another member of the repertoire of syntactic variations that may affect PPs. It is distinct from the process that moves elements into pre-verbal position, discussed in Section 6.3.1 above.

6.3.3. NOMINAL PROPERTIES OF LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONS. Now that their syntax has been described and analyzed, one final aspect of simple locative prepositions remains to be addressed: the properties they have in common with nouns. Locative prepositions share two important features with locative nouns. First, and most strikingly, they are routinely preceded by a locative demonstrative, just as locative nouns are. This property has been exemplified throughout the preceding sections. The other notable similarity is that certain locative prepositions appear to end in the locative suffix *-(î)t* typically found on locative nouns. The prepositions *akâmît* 'on the other side' and *atâmît* 'beneath, on the inside,' for example, appear to be formed by adding *-ît* to the roots *akâm-* and *atâm-*.[20]

These nominal properties may seem puzzling in comparison with familiar European languages like English and French, in which prepositions are quite distinct from nouns. Cross-linguistically, however, it is in fact common for preposition-like words to have nominal properties. Consider the Japanese sentence in (44), which contains the locative word *naka* 'inside.'

(44) *Ringo-ga* *kago-no* ***naka-ni*** *aru.*
apple-NOM basket-GEN inside-LOC is.
'An apple is in the basket.' (Takenobu et al. 2005)

[20]These morphemes may be identified as roots because they occur as such in incorporated-noun prepositions. See Section 6.4. Other simple locative prepositions that may carry *-(î)t* are noted in Table 6.3.

Although *naka* is translated into English using a preposition, its syntactic function is actually more like that of a noun—it can, for example, be possessed, as in (44), where it is possessed by the noun *kago* 'basket.' The phrase *kago-no naka-ni*, though translated as 'in the basket,' could more literally be rendered as 'at the basket's interior,' using the noun *interior* to more accurately convey the nominal nature of *naka*.

A similar state of affairs is true for the Finno-Ugric language Northern Sámi. In (45), for example, the postposition *duohkai* appears to inflect for illative case, a type of locative case normally carried by nouns.

(45) *Heasta ruohtai viesu* ***duohkai.***
horse ran house.ACC behind.ILL
'The horse ran behind the house.' (Nickel 1990, cited in Svenonius 2004a: 10)

The postposition *duohkai* is, in fact, historically related to the noun *duohkái* 'space behind.' In order to convey the nominal properties of this postposition, Svenonius (2004a) suggests that (45) may alternatively be translated as 'The horse ran to the space in back of the house.'

The Japanese and Northern Sámi examples illustrate that it is cross-linguistically plausible for prepositions to be related to nouns. Such relatedness is not found only in exotic languages, however. Even in English, the meaning of prepositions such as *behind* and *beside* may alternatively be expressed using nouns like *rear* and *side*, as in (46).

(46) a. behind the house = to/at the rear of the house
b. beside the house = to/at the side of the house

Evidently, then, there is ample precedent for the claim that Innu-aimun prepositions share properties with nouns. We may, in fact, convey the nominal properties of a preposition

like *âkû* 'hidden behind' quite clearly by translating it not with the preposition *behind*, but rather with the noun *rear*, as in (47).

(47) *Mashkᵘ* *nânipau* ***anite*** ***âkû*** ***patshuiânitshuâpît.***
bear stand.3S the.LOC rear.LOC tent.LOC
'There was a bear standing to the rear of the tent' (WO 1-1-22)

In (47), the gloss 'rear.LOC' implies that the preposition *âkû* is essentially a special type of locative noun. Such nominal glosses are possible for other prepositions as well, as shown in Table 6.4. Re-analyzing locative prepositions as a special class of locative nouns automatically accounts for their ability to occur with a demonstrative—under this analysis, *anite âkû* in (47) simply means 'to/at the rear,' exactly as *anite mîtshuâpît* means 'to/at the house.' The locative nominal analysis also explains why prepositions such as *akâmît* are able to carry the locative suffix.[21]

Although analyzing locative prepositions as a special class of locative nouns allows us to explain their nominal features, locative prepositions nonetheless have two significant

TABLE 6.4. Alternative nominal translations of prepositions

Phrase	Prepositional translation	Locative nominal translation
anita ***tâkut*** *tetapuâkanit*	'**atop** the couch'	'on **the top** of the couch'
nete ***tetâut*** *meshkanât*	'**halfway along** the road'	'at **the midpoint** of the road'
anite ***shekᵘ*** *mîtshuâpît*	'**under** the house'	'at **the underside** of the house'

[21]It is unclear, however, whether the locative suffix should still be analyzed as locative case inflection when it appears on a preposition. In such cases, it may be more appropriate to view the suffix as a prepositional final of some sort, as suggested in Section 6.4.1 below.

properties that distinguish them from typical locative nouns: their transitivity and their lack of non-locative counterparts. These distinctive properties may seem to pose a problem for the nominal analysis of prepositions. Note, however, that the second distinctive property is not unique to locative prepositions. The "exclusively locative nouns" described in Section 6.2.3 also lack corresponding non-locative forms. We may therefore regard locative prepositions as a special transitive subclass of exclusively locative nouns. This analysis captures the nominal properties of locative prepositions while also accounting for their transitivity and their lack of non-locative counterparts.

To this point, the discussion has focused on the noun-like properties of prepositions. It is worth noting, however, that locative nouns have certain preposition-like properties as well. Recall from example (32) above that prepositions may be accompanied by degree modifiers. In fact, degree modifiers may also accompany locative nouns. In (48), for example, locative nouns are accompanied by the degree modifiers *nâsht* 'completely' and *tshîtshue* 'really.'

(48) a. [$_{NP}$ ***Nâsht*** *nete* *Sheshatshît*] *tshiminâten* *ishkuteu.*
[$_{NP}$ completely the.LOC Sheshatshiu.LOC] 2.smell.2>3 fire
'You could smell the fire throughout Sheshatshiu.' (WO 3-1-42)

b. *Kâmûshuâsht* *nete* *ishinîkatenû,* *tshîtshue* *uâiû,* [$_{NP}$ ***tshîtshue***
Kamushuasht that.LOC be.called.3'S really far [$_{NP}$ really
nûtshimît].
inland.LOC]
'Kamushuasht is the name of that place. It is really far, really inland.'
(LITP 1-9-008)

The discussion in this section has been highly detailed, but the upshot is quite simple: locative nouns and locative prepositions are extremely closely related. They are not identical, however, and the subtle distinctions between them are somewhat confusing. Table 6.5 makes the distinctions more explicit, using a set of four binary features to clearly and precisely differentiate the classes of non-locative nouns, locative nouns, exclusively locative nouns, and locative prepositions. The four features are defined as follows. Words that are [+Nominal] may be accompanied by a demonstrative. All four categories share this property.[22] Words that are [+Locative] carry or select locative case, may be accompanied by degree modifiers, and may function either as adverbial modifiers or as complements of goal-selecting verbs. All but non-locative nouns share this property. Words that are [+Exclusively locative] have no non-locative counterparts. Exclusively locative nouns and locative prepositions share this property. Finally, words that are [+Transitive] can take an NP complement. Only locative prepositions have this property.

TABLE 6.5. Relatedness of nouns and prepositions

	Nominal	Locative	Exclusively locative	Transitive
Non-locative noun	+	−	−	−
Locative noun	+	+	−	−
Exclusively locative noun	+	+	+	−
Locative preposition	+	+	+	+

[22]The [+Nominal] feature is not intended to imply that locative prepositions are nouns. It is simply a shorthand for the properties that the two classes have in common.

With respect to these four features, note that the categories in Table 6.5 lie on a continuum. Non-locative nouns have only one of the listed properties while locative prepositions have all four; the other two categories fall in the middle. This feature-based analysis is well-suited to capture the interrelatedness of these categories, as it recognizes their shared properties while simultaneously recognizing their differences.

6.4. INCORPORATED-NOUN PREPOSITIONS. Recall from Chapter 5 that the class of quantifiers includes not only morphologically simple quantifiers, but also a group of "incorporated-noun quantifiers" that contain both a quantifier root and a nominal morpheme. A similar group of prepositions also exists. These "incorporated-noun prepositions" fall into two classes, which I refer to as CLASSIFICATORY PREPOSITIONS (§6.4.1) and COMPOUND PREPOSITIONS (§6.4.2). The two classes are both morphologically and syntactically distinct. Morphologically, they are distinguished by the nature of the nominal morpheme: classificatory prepositions contain a medial while compound prepositions contain a full-fledged noun.[23] Syntactically, they are distinguished by their distribution: classificatory prepositions may take a locative NP complement while compound prepositions may not. The following sections examine the two classes in turn.

6.4.1. CLASSIFICATORY PREPOSITIONS. Examples of classificatory prepositions are provided in (49).

[23]It is not clear, for either class, whether the word-formation process involved is actually noun incorporation in the sense of Baker 1988. The label "incorporated-noun prepositions" is used here simply as a convenient cover term for all preposition-like words that contain a nominal morpheme.

(49) a. *âpitûâshkʷ* 'midway along a sticklike object'
(*âpitû-* 'midway along' + *-âshkʷ* 'sticklike object')

b. *âkûâkunat* 'hidden behind a snowbank'
(*âkû-* 'hidden behind' + *-âkunat* 'snow(bank)')

c. *tâkutâtshuan* 'at the head of the rapids'
(*tâkut-* 'on top' + *-âtshuan* 'rapids')

As illustrated here, classificatory prepositions contain a prepositional morpheme and a nominal morpheme. The nominal morpheme expresses properties of the preposition's reference point or GROUND, the semantic role normally played by a preposition's independent NP complement (Svenonius 2004b). In some classificatory prepositions, the nominal morpheme is followed by the locative suffix *-(î)t*, as in (50).[24]

(50) a. *nîtâtshuanit* 'at the foot of the rapids' (*nît-* 'at the foot' + *-âtshuan* 'rapids' + *-ît*)

b. *âpitûtâtît* 'midway on a wooden thing' (*âpitû-* 'midway' + *-itât* 'wood' + *-ît*)

The examples in (50) may be analyzed using the standard Algonquian word-formation template discussed in Section 1.1.3, with the prepositional morpheme as an initial, the nominal morpheme as a medial, and the *-(î)t* suffix as a final.[25] I assume that examples with no locative suffix, as in (49), contain a null final. This analysis is shown in (51).

[24]The allomorphs of the locative suffix are described in footnote 4 on page 138.

[25]If the locative suffix is indeed a final, it may be possible, in generative terms, to analyze it as occupying the *p* position—that is, as a head that accompanies the prepositional root P. This analysis follows Brittain (2003) and Branigan et al. (2005), who analyze Algonquian verb finals as occupying the *v* position, accompanying the verb root V. It may also be possible to extend this analysis to locative nouns, which could be seen as noun stems accompanied by *p*. Although this approach may help explain the similarities between locative prepositions and locative nouns noted in Section 6.3.3, space limitations prevent me from pursuing it here.

(51)

	Initial	Medial	Final	
a.	*nît-*	*-âtshuan*	*-(î)t*	(from (50a))
b.	*tâkut-*	*-âtshuan*	*-Ø*	(from (49c))

Under this analysis, the preposition's ground is uniformly expressed by the medial, thus maintaining a consistent alignment of morphology and semantics. Positing a null final is in line with Bloomfield (1962: 69), who states that particle medials "mostly appear at the end of the stem or, as we may say, in fixed association with a final of the shape zero."[26] A list of prepositional initials is provided in Table 6.6, while Table 6.7 provides a list of prepositional medials. These lists are based on data from both LabLex and the Betsiamites database (discussed in Section 1.4.3). The lists are fairly complete, but are not exhaustive.

As indicated in Table 6.6, many prepositional initials correspond with simple locative prepositions. For one group of prepositional initials, the initial and the corresponding free preposition have exactly the same form. For example, the initial *âkû-* 'hidden behind,' as in ***âkû**âkunat* 'hidden behind a snowbank,' corresponds with the free preposition *âkû* 'hidden behind.' For another group of prepositional initials, the corresponding free preposition appears to be derived from the initial by the addition of the locative suffix *-(î)t*. For example, the initial *atâm-* 'beneath,' as in ***atâm**âuat* 'beneath the sand,' corresponds with the preposition *atâm**ît*** 'beneath.' We may analyze such prepositions as containing a prepositional initial and an *-(î)t* final. Finally, there is also a group of prepositional initials that seem to be derived from the corresponding free preposition by the addition of *-e*. For example,

[26] As additional evidence for analyzing such morphemes as medials, consider that they may act as verb medials as well. For example, the medial *-âkunat-* 'snow(bank)' in (49b) is also found in the AI verb *kutâu**âkunat**shipanû* 's/he sinks down into the snow.'

TABLE 6.6. List of prepositional initials (grouped by relationship to free prepositions)

No corresponding free preposition	
âshtam- 'on the side of'	*tshik-* 'covered/enclosed by'
en- 'flat on'	*tshîk-* 'at the edge of, up against'
mûsht- 'on'	*tshipish-* 'blocking'
sheshk- 'entering'	*ushe-* 'on the crest of'

Corresponding free preposition (in parentheses) has the same form	
âitû- 'on both sides/ends of' (*âitû*)	*nimitâu-* 'from the edge to the centre' (*nimitâu*)
âkû- 'hidden behind' (*âkû*)	*pâshit-* 'passing over' (*pâshit*)
âpam- 'behind/on the other side of' (*âpam*)	*pîtute-* 'inside' (*pîtute*)
âpitû- 'midway along' (*âpitû*)	*shîpâ-* 'underneath' (*shîpâ*)
itetshekâm- 'on this side of' (*itetshekâm*)	*sheku-* 'underneath, below' (*shek^{u}*)
kueshtetshe- 'on the other side of' (*kueshtetshe*)	*tâkut-* 'on top of' (*tâkut*)
nâmûn- 'on the leeward side of' (*nâmûn*)	*tetip-* 'all around' (*tetip*)
nanim- 'on the windward side of' (*nanim*)	*upime-* 'on the side of' (*upime*)
napate- 'on one of two sides of' (*napate*)	*ussit-* 'on the surface of' (*ussit*)

Corresponding free preposition is apparently derived by locative *-(î)t*	
akâm- 'on the opposite side of, across' (*akâmît*)	*tetâu-* 'in the middle of' (*tetâut*)
atâm- 'beneath on the inside/back of' (*atâmît*)	*tshîtshi-* 'very close to' (*tshîtshit*)
nît- 'at the foot of' (*nîtât*)	*ûnashku-* 'at the end/edge of' (*ûnashkût*)

Corresponing free preposition does not have final *e*	
enakâme- 'on this side of' (*enakâm*)	*pîmakâme-* 'diagonally across' (*pîmakâm*)
kueshtakâme- 'around' (*kueshtakâm*)	*pinashue-* 'going down' (*pinashû*)
matshiteue- 'on the point of' (*matshiteu*)	

Corresponding free preposition is derived idiosyncratically
tâu- 'in the middle of' (*tâueu*)
uâsh- 'all around' (*uâshkâ*)

TABLE 6.7. List of prepositional medials (grouped semantically)

Land and elements	
-âkunat 'snow, snowbank'	*-assût* 'clay'
-âmatin 'mountain'	*-atâuat* 'hill, mountain'
-âmiss 'beach'	*-âtshuan* 'rapids'
-ânâuat 'sand, sandbank'	*-âuat* 'sand, gravel'
-âpushteu 'burnt-over area'	*-(esh)kanau* 'road'
-ashkamit 'soil, earth'	*-kâm* 'lake, body of water'
-âshtât '(evergreen) forest'	*-shet* 'rocky slope'
-asset 'swamp, bog'	*-shikᵘ* 'ice'
-âsseu 'fire'	
Objects	
-apakᵘ 'tent'	*-et* 'sheetlike object'
-âpet 'threadlike object'	*-(sh)kuât* 'doorway'
-âpiss 'mineral object, rock'	*-tât* 'wooden object, floor'
-âshkᵘ 'sticklike object, tree, woods'	
Body parts	
-âpissikan 'chin'	*-pitun* 'arm'
-âssikan 'chest'	*-puam* 'thigh'
-kât 'leg'	*-shit* 'foot'
-kâtikᵘ 'forehead'	*-shtikuân* 'head'
-pishkun 'back'	

the initial *pinashue-* 'going down,' as in ***pinashuetâuat*** 'going down a hill,' appears to be derived from the preposition *pinashû* 'going down.'

Classificatory prepositions, like simple locative prepositions, may take a locative NP complement, as illustrated in (52).[27]

(52) a. [PP ***Âitûet*** *uâpuiânit*] *mitshimîuat* *ishkuessat.*
[PP both.sides+sheetlike.object blanket.LOC] hold.3P girl.3P
'The girls are holding on to both ends of the blanket.' (Hasler 2006: 23)

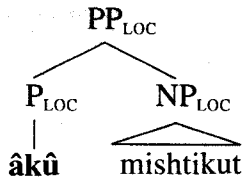
b. [PP ***Âitûkâm*** *shîpît*] *uîtshûat* *innuat.*
[PP both.sides+body.of.water river.LOC] camp.3P Innu.3P
'Innu camp on both sides of the river.' (Hasler 2006: 23)

c. [PP ***Âpitûâshkᵘ*** *mishtikut*] *tâu* *pineshîsh.*
[PP midway.along+sticklike.object branch.LOC] be.3S bird
'A bird is perched halfway along a branch.' (Hasler 2006: 24)

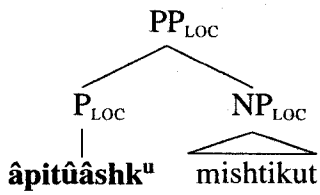
These examples illustrate the classificatory nature of prepositions of this type: the incorporated nominal morpheme encodes information about the general properties of the preposition's complement. Since classificatory prepositions are syntactically transitive, they may be given the same syntactic representation as simple locative prepositions, as shown in (53).

[27]It is possible that this statement is too general. Recall from the discussion of incorporated-noun quantifiers (§5.2.3) that the ability of a complex quantifier to occur with an external NP depends on the nature of the incorporated nominal morpheme. The same may be true of complex prepositions. If this should turn out to be the case, then a further distinction would need to be drawn between prepositions containing classificatory and non-classificatory medials. I have not been able to pursue this matter, however, as most of my consultants do not regularly use incorporated-noun prepositions.

(53) a. Simple locative preposition *âkû* 'hidden behind'
(*âkû mishtikut* 'hidden behind a tree')



b. Classificatory preposition *âpitûâshk*^{u} 'halfway along a sticklike object'
(*âpitûâshk*^{u} *mishtikut* 'halfway along a branch')



The diagram in (53b) captures the fact that a classificatory preposition may take a complement NP. It does not, however, provide any insight into the morphological structure of the preposition itself, a matter that must be left to future research.

Just as shown for simple locative prepositions in example (27) above, classificatory prepositions may also optionally occur without a locative NP complement, as in (54). In such cases, the medial serves to identify the ground of the preposition.

(54) *Tshuâpâtenâu* *â* [$_{PP}$ *anite* ***tâkutâpiss***]*?*
2.see.2P QST [$_{PP}$ the.LOC on.top+mountain]
'Did you see it on top of the mountain?' (WO 2-1-60)

This example also illustrates that classificatory prepositions, like simple locative prepositions and locative nouns, may be accompanied by a locative demonstrative.

6.4.2. COMPOUND PREPOSITIONS. Like classificatory prepositions, compound prepositions also contain both a prepositional root and a nominal morpheme. However, the nominal morpheme has a different nature: rather than being a bound medial, it is a full-fledged noun that may also occur as a freestanding word. Examples of compound prepositions are provided in (55). In the standard Innu-aimun orthography, the prepositional and nominal morphemes are separated by a hyphen, the treatment normally given to compound words (Drapeau and Mailhot 1989).

(55) a. *âpitû-uâshâu* 'midway along the bay'
(*âpitû-* 'midway along' + *uâshâu* 'bay')

b. *tetâu-taushkum* 'in the middle of the frozen lake'
(*tetâu-* 'in the middle' + *taushkum* 'frozen lake')

c. *akâmi-shîpû* or *akâmi-shîpît* 'across the river'
(*akâm-* 'across' + connective *-i-* + *shîpû* 'river' (+ locative *(î)t*[28]))

Nouns that may appear in compound prepositions include *ishkuteu* 'fire,' *shîpîss* 'brook,' *shîpû* 'river,' *taushkum* 'frozen lake,' and *uâshâu* 'bay.'

As mentioned above, compound prepositions are also syntactically distinct from classificatory prepositions. Unlike classificatory prepositions (and simple locative prepositions), compound prepositions cannot take a locative NP complement. In order to see this point, first consider example (56). This example illustrates that the meaning 'across the river' is normally expressed by the incorporated-noun preposition *akâmi-shîpît*.

[28]There is some variation regarding whether or not such forms take the locative suffix. It is unclear whether this suffix should be seen as a prepositional final, as suggested for classificatory prepositions above, or whether it is simply a part of the compounded noun.

(56) *Miâm* *nuepimiten* ***akâmi-shîpît.***
completely 1.throw.3>3′ across-river
'I threw it right across the river.' (WO 2-2-13)

If the ground of the preposition is more complex, however, such as *Mishta-shîpît* 'Churchill River,' it cannot be expressed in a compound preposition. Instead, the noun must occur independently, as in (57).

(57) *Miâm* *nuepimiten* ***akâmît*** ***Mishta-shîpît.***
completely 1.throw.3>3′ across Churchill.River
'I threw it right across Churchill River.' (WO 2-2-13)

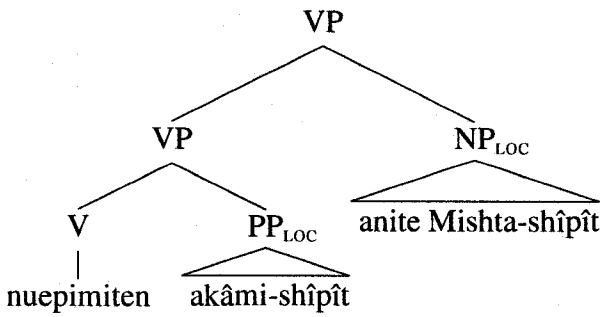
Note that in (57), where the ground of the preposition is expressed by an independent NP, the preposition occurs in its simple form *akâmît*, not as the compound *akâmi-shîpît*. This suggests that a preposition may either form a compound with a noun, as in (56), or take an independent NP complement, as in (57), but cannot do both at once. As evidence that this is indeed the case, consider example (58).

(58) *Miâm* *nuepimiten* ***akâmi-shîpît*** ***anite*** ***Mishta-shîpît.***
completely 1.throw.3>3′ across-river the.LOC Churchill.River
'I threw it right across the river, while at Churchill River.' (WO 2-2-13)

While this example does contain both a compounded noun (*-shîpît*) and an independent NP (*anite Mishta-shîpît*), note that it does not simply mean 'across the Churchill River.' Rather, it must be interpreted as 'across the river, while at Churchill River.' As this translation clearly indicates, the independent NP *anite Mishta-shîpît* is interpreted as a separate adverbial modifier, not as the complement of the preposition. The adverbial function of

anite Mishta-shîpît is illustrated by the diagram in (59). The obligatory adverbial interpretation of the independent NP indicates that the compound preposition *akâmi-shîpît* indeed cannot take a separate independent NP complement.

(59)



Since a compound preposition cannot take an independent NP complement, it must be the compounded noun itself that acts as the preposition's complement. With its complement position satisfied internally, a compound preposition therefore behaves syntactically like a full PP, as indicated in (59).

6.4.3. CONCLUSION—INCORPORATED-NOUN PREPOSITIONS. In summary, Innuaimun has two distinct classes of incorporated-noun prepositions. Classificatory prepositions contain a nominal medial and are syntactically transitive while compound prepositions contain a full-fledged noun and are syntactically intransitive. The syntactic properties of these classes may be captured by representing classificatory prepositions as P (a prepositional head) and compound prepositions as PP (a prepositional phrase). Further investigation is required in order to clarify the nature of the morphological processes that form incorporated-noun prepositions.

6.5. FUNCTIONAL PREPOSITIONS. To this point, the categories examined in this chapter—locative demonstratives, locative nouns, simple locative prepositions, and incorporated-noun prepositions—have all had nominal properties and are all closely linked with locative case and locative semantics. There is one final class of prepositional elements, however, that has neither nominal nor locative properties. Members of the class of FUNCTIONAL PREPOSITIONS differ from simple locative prepositions in three important ways: they take non-locative NP complements, they do not carry locative meaning, and they are never accompanied by demonstratives.[29] The most frequently-occurring Innu-aimun functional preposition is *miâm* 'like,' exemplified in (60).[30]

(60) a. [$_{PP}$ ***Miâm*** *ukâuîa*] *ishi-pimûteu.*
[$_{PP}$ like 3.mother.3′] thus-walk.3S
'She walks just like her mother.' (WO 4-5-6)

b. [$_{PP}$ ***Miâm*** *ne tshûtâu*] *etenitâkushîn.*
[$_{PP}$ like that 2.father] IC.have.temperament.CONJ.2S
'You're just like that father of yours.'[31] (WO 3-6-31)

c. *Mânî* [$_{PP}$ ***miâm*** *shîshîpa*] *etûtet.*
Marie [$_{PP}$ like duck.3′] IC.go.CONJ.3S
'Marie walks like a duck.' (WO 6-3-19)

[29]The term "functional preposition" is intended to imply that these prepositions are function words.

[30]*Miâm* is a grammatically prolific word. Aside from acting as a functional preposition, it may also occur as a degree modifier (examples (32b) and (56) above), a VP-adverb (Chapter 7), and a subordinating conjunction (discussed immediately below). All uses of *miâm* share the basic meaning of 'exactly/just so/just like.'

[31]Interestingly, this example (as well as example (60c) following) contains a verb in the conjunct order, for reasons which are unknown to me.

Note that *miâm* obligatorily precedes its complement NP. For example, regarding sentence (60c) above, the consultant indicated that it would be strongly ungrammatical to say **shîshîpa miâm* rather than *miâm shîshîpa.*

Innu-aimun also has the functional preposition *mâk ât* 'compared to,' which occurs regularly in comparative structures such as the examples in (61).[32]

(61) a. *Etatû pîtuâu uîn Ân* [$_{PP}$ ***mâk ât*** *Shûshepa*].
more smoke.3S EMPH Ann [$_{PP}$ compared.to Joseph.3′]
'Ann smokes more than Joseph.' (WO 1-5-11)

b. *Apû shûk mîtshishuiân nîn* [$_{PP}$ ***mâk ât*** *tshîn*].
NEG very.much eat.CONJ.1S 1S [$_{PP}$ compared.to 2S]
'I eat less than you do.' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 65)

As mentioned above, functional prepositions have little in common with other prepositions. They are, however, quite closely related to subordinating conjunctions—in fact, both *miâm* and *mâk ât* may also function as subordinating conjunctions, as shown in (62).[33]

(62) a. *Papâmûteu* ***miâm*** [$_{S}$ *ekâ tshissenitâk tshe itûtet*].
walk.around.3S like [$_{S}$ NEG know.CONJ.3S IC.FUT go.CONJ.3S]
'He's walking around like he doesn't know where to go.' (WO 1-8-36)

b. *Etatû minuâtam*^{u} *tshetshî kusset* ***mâk ât*** [$_{S}$ *tshetshî nataut*].
more like.3>3′ IRREAL fish.CONJ.3S compared.to [$_{S}$ IRREAL hunt.CONJ.3S]
'He likes fishing more than hunting.' (WO 1-7-14)

[32]*Mâk ât* is pronounced as *mâkâ* by my consultants. Although *mâk ât* is written as two separate words in the standard orthography, it seems to behave as a single lexical item; in fact, the consultant who provided example (61a) preferred to write it as a single word.

[33]The conjunctions of Innu-aimun are discussed in Chapter 8.

In this property, *miâm* and *mâk ât* are similar to their English equivalents *like* and *more than/less than*, which may also act either as prepositions, as in (63a), or as subordinating conjunctions, as in (63b).

(63) a. She talks { like / more than / less than } [$_{NP}$ her mother]

b. She talks { like / more than / less than } [$_{S}$ her mother does]

The examples in (63) suggest that there is very little difference between the prepositional and conjunctional functions of *like* and *more/less than*, as they are distinguished only by the nature of the following constituent. This observation has led certain English grammarians to group prepositions and subordinating conjunctions together in a single class (Jespersen 1924; Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Such an analysis seems appropriate for *miâm* and *mâk ât* as well. For the descriptive purposes of this thesis, however, it is nevertheless useful to distinguish between their prepositional and conjunctional uses.

On a comparative note, it appears that functional prepositions like *miâm* and *mâk ât*, not locative prepositions like *akâmît*, are in fact the closest Innu-aimun equivalents of English prepositions. Like typical English prepositions, *miâm* and *mâk ât* do not have noun-like properties; furthermore, they share with certain English prepositions the ability to act as subordinating conjunctions. For comparative purposes, then, it seems best to recognize that Innu-aimun functional prepositions correspond with English prepositions while Innu-aimun locative prepositions are intermediate between English prepositions and nouns. These relationships are illustrated in Figure 6.1.

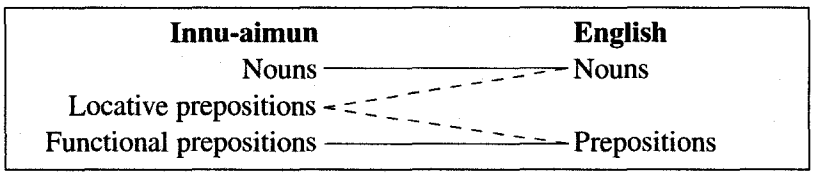


FIGURE 6.1. Correspondences between Innu-aimun and English categories

6.6. CONCLUSION. The various prepositional and/or locative categories discussed in this chapter are summarized in Figure 6.2. Most of these categories may be accommodated in existing part-of-speech classes: locative demonstratives are a subclass of demonstratives, locative nouns are a subclass of nouns, and spatial adverbs are a subclass of adverbs (discussed in Chapter 7). The only items in Figure 6.2 that require a unique classification, in fact, are the locative and functional prepositions. The final outcome of this lengthy chapter, then, is simply that a class of prepositions—indeclinable particles that may take NP complements—must be recognized. This class has quite distinct locative and functional subclasses. The classification of prepositions is summarized in Figure 6.3.

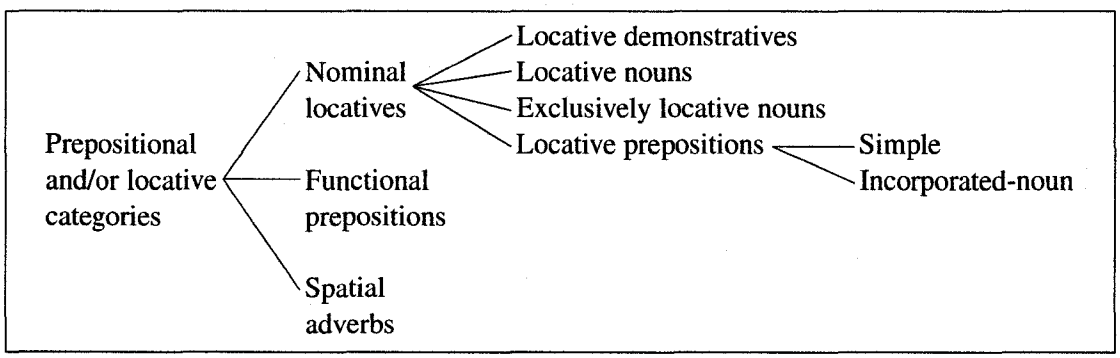


FIGURE 6.2. Classification of prepositional and/or locative categories

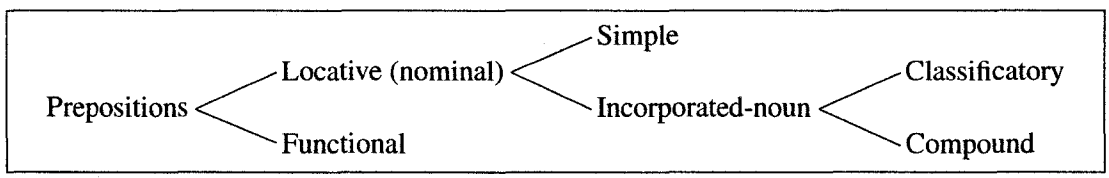


FIGURE 6.3. Classification of prepositions

CHAPTER 7

ADVERBS

The class of adverbs contains particles that, in the words of Haspelmath (2001: 16,543), "modify non-nominal constituents" such as verb phrases, prepositional phrases, other adverbs, and sentences. In order to familiarize the reader with the wide variety of Innu-aimun adverbs, Section 7.1 informally divides the class into a number of semantically-based subgroups. Section 7.2 then examines the syntactic properties of adverbs.

7.1. SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBS. Recall from Chapter 2 that words cannot be grouped into grammatical categories based on their meaning alone. A meaning-based classification of adverbs therefore cannot be assumed to establish grammatically-relevant classes.[1] Such classifications are nevertheless quite useful—and common—as they provide a way to divide the typically vast and diverse class of adverbs into smaller, more manageable groups. The informal classification of Innu-aimun adverbs provided in this section is intended to serve this practical purpose.

Crosslinguistically, the descriptive and theoretical literature on adverbs is quite extensive and a variety of different classification schemes have been proposed (see, for example,

[1]Through empirical investigation, such semantic classes may indeed be found to correlate with grammatical distinctions, as discussed further in Section 7.2. The point here is simply that their grammatical relevance cannot be taken as a given.

Jackendoff 1972, Quirk et al. 1985, Cinque 1999, Ernst 2002, and Huddleston and Pullum 2002). The classification presented in this section is compiled from various sources. Three major classes of Innu-aimun adverbs are identified: CIRCUMSTANTIAL ADVERBS (§7.1.1), which express meanings of manner, space, and time; DEGREE ADVERBS (§7.1.2), which place the meaning of some other constituent on a scale of intensity; and MODAL ADVERBS (§7.1.3), which are semantically similar to verbal modality. Each class is divided into several subclasses.

7.1.1. CIRCUMSTANTIAL ADVERBS. Adverbs of manner, space, and time are often grouped together as "circumstantial" adverbs, as they all express circumstances of an event (Cinque 1999; Nilsen 2000). This section distinguishes five classes of circumstantial adverbs in Innu-aimun: (1) manner adverbs, (2) spatial adverbs, (3) temporal adverbs, (4) adverbs that may be interpreted either spatially or temporally, and (5) bare-NP adverbs.

MANNER ADVERBS. Manner adverbs such as those listed in (1) describe the way in which an action is carried out.

(1) ***kuessîpan*** 'in turn'; ***kuetû*** 'at the end of one's resources'; ***kuishkᵘ*** 'directly, straightforwardly, correctly'; ***mâmâsh*** 'in any old way, roughly, sloppily'; ***manât*** 'with care, with stinginess'; ***metîkât*** 'quietly, softly, slowly'; ***metinû*** 'slowly'; ***miâm*** 'correctly'; ***mîshkut*** 'in return, in exchange'[2]; ***shassikut*** 'suddenly'; ***tân*** 'how, in what way, by what means'; ***tshiâm*** 'the right way, properly'; ***tshîmut*** 'secretly'; ***tshîshkam***

[2]*Mîshkut* also serves as a focus particle meaning 'instead' (Chapter 8).

'straightforwardly, suddenly, immediately'; ***uânasse*** 'without difficulty, easily'; ***ue-nashk*** 'quickly, hurriedly'

SPATIAL ADVERBS. Spatial adverbs such as those listed in (2) express spatial notions including location, orientation, distribution, and contiguity.

(2) ***ânishkᵘ*** 'touching, physically linked'; ***ashetâme*** 'retracing one's steps'; ***âshtamite*** 'less, less far'; ***ite*** 'there, here'; ***kâtâkᵘ*** 'far away'; ***kâtikâtîp*** 'of all sizes, in order of increasing size'; ***mamen*** 'here and there, in places'; ***mîtâkue*** 'set back, recessed'; ***nâshikᵘ*** 'low down, at a lower level'; ***nishkue*** 'on the way'; ***pîtû*** 'superimposed in layers'

Recall from Chapter 6 that spatial adverbs are distinguished from locative nouns and prepositions by three grammatical properties: they may not carry a locative suffix, they may not be modified by a locative demonstrative, and they may not serve as the complement of a goal-selecting verb. They are further distinguished from locative prepositions by their inability to take a nominal complement.

TEMPORAL ADVERBS. The temporal adverbs of Innu-aimun may be divided into five subclasses: (1) absolute-time adverbs, (2) relative-time adverbs, (3) aspectual adverbs, (4) frequency adverbs, and (5) durational adverbs.

The first two classes, absolute-time and relative-time adverbs, both serve essentially the same function as tense: they indicate an event's "location in time" (Frawley 1992: 336). The distinction between the two classes follows Comrie's (1985) division of tense into

two basic types: ABSOLUTE TENSE and RELATIVE TENSE.[3] Absolute tenses specify an event's location in time with respect to the moment of utterance. Similarly, absolute-time adverbs are those that use the moment of utterance as a reference point, as in (3).

(3) Absolute-time adverbs in relation to the moment of utterance

a. Before: ***shâshîsh*** 'long ago'

b. Same time: ***anûtshîsh*** 'now'; ***miâm*** 'right now'; ***pitamâ*** '(for) now'; ***tshîshât*** 'right now'

c. After: ***âiânishkât*** 'in the next generation'; ***âishkat*** 'in the future'; ***uîpat*** 'soon'[4]

Relative tenses, on the other hand, do not use the moment of utterance as a reference point. Rather, they specify an event's location in time with respect to some other event. Similarly, relative-time adverbs are those that use some other actual or potential event as a reference point, as in (4).

(4) Relative-time adverbs in relation to time of other event

a. Before: ***nîshtam*** 'first'; ***uîpat*** 'early'

b. Same time: ***tshek*** 'then, at that time'

c. After: ***mueshtash*** 'late, too late'; ***nâtshe*** 'later'; ***pâtush*** 'later'[5]

[3]The association of certain adverbs with tense follows Cinque (1999). It is my own decision, however, to divide such adverbs into two classes based on Comrie's classification of tenses.

[4]*Uîpat* may also serve as a relative time adverb meaning 'early,' as shown in (4).

[5]*Pâtush* also acts as a subordinator meaning 'until, unless' (§8.4.4).

Aspectual adverbs, the next class, are similar to verbal aspect in that they indicate "the way that an event is distributed through the time frame" (Frawley 1992: 294).[6] They typically express meanings of completion and repetition, as in (5).

(5) ***eshkᵘ*** 'still, yet'; ***mân(i)*** 'habitually, regularly, still';[7] ***mînuât*** 'again'; ***shâsh*** 'already, anymore'[8]

Note that while the aspectual adverb *shâsh* is normally translated as 'already,' in negative contexts it may instead mean 'anymore,' as in (6).

(6) a. *Kassinû apû tânitî* ***shâsh.***
all NEG be.CONJ.3′ anymore
'None of them were there anymore.' (LITP 1-4-70)

b. ***Shâsh*** *apû pîtuât Pûn.*
anymore NEG smoke.CONJ.3S Paul
'Paul doesn't smoke anymore.' (WO 4-1-15)

The next class, frequency adverbs, contains adverbs that specify how often an event occurs.[9] The examples in (7) are listed in order of increasing frequency.

(7) ***nîtâ*** '(n)ever'; ***nânikutinî*** 'sometimes'; ***mân(i)*** 'sometimes/often'; ***mûsh*** 'often'; ***kâ-tshitshe*** 'continually'; ***eshakuma*** 'every time/each time'; ***nânitam*** 'always'

The frequency adverb *nîtâ* 'ever' is often translated into English using the negative adverb *never.* Note, however, that negation is not an inherent part of the meaning of *nîtâ.* The

[6]Aspectual adverbs are recognized by Cinque (1999), Givón (2002), and ter Meulen (2004), among others.
[7]*Mân(i)* also serves as a frequency adverb, as shown in (7).
[8]*Shâsh* is also pronounced as *tshâsh.*
[9]The term "frequency adverb(ial)" is used by de Swart (1993), Abeillé et al. (2004), and many others.

translation using *never* is simply a consequence of the fact that *nîtâ* often occurs in negated clauses, as in (8).

(8) a. *Apû* ***nîtâ*** *tâht* *anite.*
NEG ever be.CONJ.3P the.LOC
'They were never there.' (LITP 4-3-289)

b. *Apû* *tshî* *nipâiâkanîht* ***nîtâ.***
NEG ABIL be.killed.3P ever
'They can never be killed.' (LITP 3-1-094)

In such examples, it is actually the combination of *apû* 'not' and *nîtâ* 'ever' that gives rise to the English translation *never*. Examples in which *nîtâ* occurs in non-negative contexts, such as in (9), clearly illustrate that its meaning is actually that of *ever*, not *never*.

(9) a. *Mâ* ***nîtâ*** *tshî* *uâpâten* *Uâshât?*
QST ever PERF see.2>3 Sept.Iles
'Have you ever seen Sept-Iles?' (WO 4-1-35)

b. *Mâ* ***nîtâ*** *pîtuâu?*
QST ever smoke.3S
'Does he ever smoke?' (WO 3-5-32)

Durational adverbs, the final semantic class of temporal adverbs, serve to identify the temporal extent of an event. Some durational adverbs are listed in (10).[10]

(10) ***minekâsh*** 'for a long time'; ***natshishk*** 'forever'; ***uenipissîsh*** 'for a short time'

[10]Similar adverbs have been classified using the equivalent terms "durative adverbs" (Cinque 1999) and "durational adverbials" (Abeillé et al. 2004).

In summary, this section has illustrated that temporal adverbs, a class of circumstantial adverbs, may be further divided into semantically-based subclasses of absolute-time adverbs, relative-time adverbs, aspectual adverbs, frequency adverbs, and durational adverbs.

SPATIAL/TEMPORAL ADVERBS. Aside from the exclusively spatial and exclusively temporal adverbs discussed to this point, there is also a group of circumstantial adverbs that may be interpreted either spatially or temporally—that is, they denote concepts that may apply in both spatial and temporal semantic fields, as discussed for prepositions in Chapter 6. Such adverbs are listed in (11).

(11) ***âiâshû*** 'one after another, from one to the other, in succession'; ***ashâ*** 'backwards, from back to front, beginning at the end'; ***kâu*** 'back'; ***mâmû*** 'all together (in space or time)'; ***mâushak"*** 'in piles, all at once'; ***nîkân*** 'in front, in the future'; ***pet*** 'in this direction, to here, since that time'; ***tâtipân*** 'separately'

BARE-NP ADVERBS. Finally, Innu-aimun has a class of apparent temporal adverbs that seem not to be "pure" adverbs at all, but rather nouns that function adverbially. English has a class of such "adverbial NPs" as well, as exemplified by the bolded NPs in (12).

(12) a. The package arrived [$_{NP}$ **yesterday**].
b. It snowed [$_{NP}$ **this morning**].
c. John moved to Toronto [$_{NP}$ **last summer**].

Despite their adverbial function, the bolded constituents in (12) are clearly NPs. They are semantically identical to prototypical nouns in that they serve to name particular entities—

in this case, specific dates and times. Furthermore, they share two grammatical properties with typical NPs: they may be formed by combining a demonstrative and a noun, as in (12b), and they may function as subjects and objects, as shown for *last summer* in (13).

(13) a. [$_{NP}$ **Last summer**] was quite eventful.

b. I'll never forget [$_{NP}$ **last summer**].

Larson (1985) refers to adverbial NPs like those in (12) as BARE-NP ADVERBS. This term is conveniently neutral, as it recognizes that such items have the form of NPs but may function as adverbs.

Innu-aimun has a class of words that, on semantic grounds, also appear to be bare-NP adverbs. Like English bare-NP adverbs, the words in this class function adverbially but serve to identify particular times—specifically, seasons. These "seasonal adverbs" correspond morphologically and semantically with II verbs. For example, the adverb *pipunut* 'last winter' is related to the II verb *pipun* 'it is winter.' Seasonal adverbs of this type are listed in (14), along with the verbs they are related to.[11]

(14)

	Season	Adverb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
a.	Winter	*pipunut*	'last winter'	*pipun*	'it is winter'
b.	Spring thaw	*shîkuanut*	'last spring'	*shîkuan*	'it is spring'
c.	New growth	*minushkamît*	'last spring'	*minushkamû*	'it is spring'
d.	Summer	*nîpinut*	'last summer'	*nîpin*	'it is summer'
e.	Fall	*takuâkut*	'last fall'	*takuâtshin*	'it is fall'

Why should such words be seen as bare-NP adverbs rather than true adverbs? In addition to their noun-like semantics, there is also grammatical evidence in favour of this classifica-

[11]Note that the English word *spring* has two Innu-aimun equivalents, one denoting the time of the spring thaw, the other denoting the time of new growth.

tion: the seasonal adverbs in (14) seem to be derived from the corresponding verbs by the addition of the nominal locative suffix *-(î)t*.[12] In these examples, the suffix surfaces as two allomorphs: *-ît* and *-ut*. The first allomorph, *-ît*, occurs only on the adverb *minushkamît*, which is derived from the *û*-final verb *minushkamû*. The *-ît* suffix replaces the final *û* exactly as it does for *û*-final nouns like *shîpû* 'river,' as shown in (15).[13]

(15) a. *shîpû* + *ît* → ***shîpît***

b. *minushkamû* + *ît* → ***minushkamît***

The second allomorph, *-ut*, appears on the other four seasonal adverbs listed in (14). This allomorph normally occurs when the locative suffix is added to a stem ending with a labialized consonant such as k^u or m^u. If we assume that the relevant stems in (14) also end with a labialized consonant, the derivation of seasonal adverbs like *pipunut* 'last winter' is exactly the same as that of locative nouns like *massekut* 'at the swamp,' as shown in (16).

(16) a. *massek*^{u} + *ît* → ***massekut***

b. *pipun*^{u} + *ît* → ***pipunut***

Since the indicative neutral form *pipun* 'it is winter' does not end in *u*, the source of this underlying labialization may seem unclear. In more complex forms of *pipun*, however, *u* does appear, as in the preterit form *pipunûpan* 'it was winter.'[14] This is strong evidence that *pipun* does underlyingly contain a stem-final *u*, thus predicting that the corresponding locative form should indeed be *pipunut*, as attested.

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[12]Except for *takuâkut*, which is derived from a stem that differs slightly from the corresponding verb.

[13]The allomorphs of the locative suffix are described in footnote 4 on page 138.

[14]Other II verbs form the preterit in *-îpan* instead (*shîpekûn* 'it is green' → *shîpekûnîpan* 'it was green').

Additional support for the hypothesis that seasonal adverbs are in fact locative-inflected nouns comes from a comparison with their cognates in other Algonquian languages. In Plains Cree (LeClaire and Cardinal 1998) and Ojibwe (Nichols and Nyholm 1995), the equivalent seasonal adverbs also carry the nominal locative suffix; in fact, even the distribution of *i-* and *u*-allomorphs (spelled with *o* in Cree and Ojibwe) is the same as in Innu-aimun, as shown in (17).

(17)

		Innu-aimun	Plains Cree	Ojibwe
a.	'last winter'	*pipunut*	*piponohk*	*biboonong*
b.	'last spring'	*shîkuanut*	*sekwanohk*	*ziigwanong*
c.	'last spring'	*minushkamît*	*miyoskamîhk*	—
d.	'last summer'	*nîpinut*	*nîpinohk*	*niibinong*
e.	'last fall'	*takuâkut*	*takwâkohk*	*dagwaagong*

The Plains Cree locative suffix is underlyingly *-ihk*, but becomes *-ohk* after a labialized consonant (Ahenakew 1987). All of the Cree seasonal adverbs in (17) carry the labialized allomorph *-ohk* except for *miyoskamîhk*—an exact parallel with the Innu-aimun pattern. The Ojibwe locative suffix is underlyingly *-ing*, but becomes *-ong* after a labialized consonant (Valentine 2001). All of the the Ojibwe seasonal adverbs in (17) carry the labialized allomorph *-ong*.[15] These crosslinguistic similarities provide strong evidence that the *-ît* and *-ut* suffixes found on Innu-aimun seasonal adverbs are indeed instances of the nominal locative suffix. Based on this morphological evidence, together with the aforementioned semantic similarity to nouns, I conclude that seasonal adverbs are best seen as being nom-

[15]There does not appear to be an Ojibwe cognate for *minushkamît*.

inal in form—that is, they are not true adverbs at all, but rather bare-NP adverbs in the sense of Larson 1985.[16]

Another obvious diagnostic of the "nominality" of seasonal adverbs would be their ability to function non-adverbially—as subjects, for example. Unfortunately, this test is difficult to apply in a null-subject language like Innu-aimun. Consider the constructed example in (18), which contains the bare-NP adverb *nîpinut* 'last summer.'

(18) *Nîpinut* *tâkâpan.*
summer.LOC be.cold.PRET.3S
'[$_{NP}$ **Last summer**] was cold.'
'Last summer, [$_{NP}$ **it**] was cold.'

As indicated, this sentence has two potential interpretations. *Nîpinut* could be the third-person singular subject of the II verb *tâkâpan.* Alternatively, since null subjects are common in Innu-aimun, the subject could be an understood third-person singular pronoun meaning 'it'; *nîpinut* would then be interpreted as an adverbial modifier. Distinguishing between these two interpretations is nearly impossible. This test therefore does not readily provide evidence either for or against the bare-NP adverb analysis.

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[16]This discussion raises an interesting question: how can the locative suffix, an inflectional suffix normally found on nouns, be added to a verb stem such as *pipun^{u}* 'be winter'? The process appears to be a case of SECONDARY DERIVATION in the sense of Goddard 1990. Two similar analyses involving secondary derivation are possible. As illustrated in (i), the verb stem *pipun^{u}* may be converted to a noun stem by zero derivation; like any other noun, this derived noun stem can then accept the locative suffix. Alternatively, the *-(î)t* suffix itself may act as a derivational suffix, directly converting *pipun^{u}* into a noun as shown in (ii).

(i) [$_{N}$ [$_{V}$ pipun^{u}] + Ø] + ît

(ii) [$_{N}$ [$_{V}$ pipun^{u}] + ît]

The same process appears to convert the II verb *minâshkuâu* 'it is woods' into the exclusively locative noun *minâshkuât* 'in the woods,' as mentioned in Section 6.2.3.

As a digression, it is interesting to consider the implications of the entirely non-spatial usage of the locative suffix found on bare-NP adverbs. The term "locative" may in fact be too narrow—rather than specifically being a locative marker, perhaps the *-(î)t* suffix is simply a general oblique marker. This notion gains support from the neighbouring dialect of Southern East Cree, in which *-hch*, the cognate of the Innu-aimun locative suffix, may indicate not only location, as in (19a), but also comparison, as in (19b).[17]

(19) a. *Atihku**hch*** *tehtapuu.*
caribou.LOC sit.on.3S
'She sits on the caribou.'

b. *Mwehch* *atihku**hch*** *ihtuu* *e* *pimuhtet.*
just.like caribou."LOC" does.it.3S whenever walk.CONJ.3S
'She walks like a caribou.' (Junker et al. 2000–2006)

To my knowledge, this comparative use of the locative suffix is not attested in Innu-aimun. Nevertheless, the interesting possibility that the locative suffix may actually be a more general oblique marker should not be ruled out.

This concludes the discussion of circumstantial adverbs. As shown above, this class may be divided into four subclasses of "pure" adverbs—manner adverbs, spatial adverbs, temporal adverbs, and spatial/temporal adverbs—as well as a class of bare-NP adverbs which are semantically similar to temporal adverbs but are grammatically nominal. The next section proceeds to examine the second major adverb class: degree adverbs.

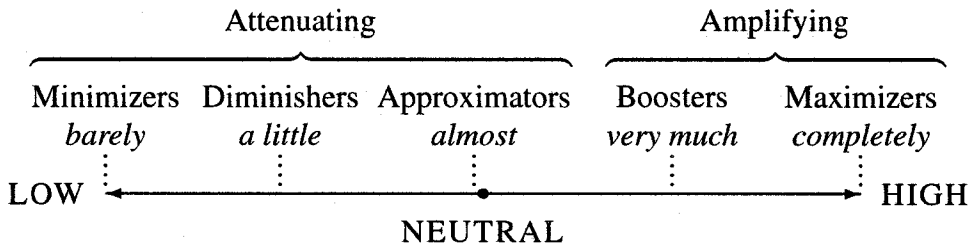
[17] Junker et al. (2000–2006) use the label "simulative" to refer to this usage of the suffix.

7.1.2. DEGREE ADVERBS. Degree adverbs place the meaning of some other constituent on a scale of intensity. They fall into two basic classes: AMPLIFYING DEGREE ADVERBS and ATTENUATING DEGREE ADVERBS (Quirk et al. 1985; Paradis 1997).[18] Amplifying degree adverbs indicate a higher-than-neutral level on the scale. For example, the phrase *very happy*, which contains the amplifying degree adverb *very*, indicates a higher degree of happiness than denoted by *happy* alone. Attenuating degree adverbs, on the other hand, indicate a lower-than-neutral level on the scale. For example, the phrase *slightly happy*, which contains the attenuating degree adverb *slightly*, indicates a lower degree of happiness than denoted by *happy* alone.

The two basic classes can be more finely divided. Amplifying degree adverbs fall into two groups: (1) BOOSTERS such as *very much*, which denote a high degree on the scale, and (2) MAXIMIZERS such as *completely*, which denote the highest possible degree. Attenuating degree adverbs fall into three groups: (1) APPROXIMATORS such as *almost*, which denote a degree that approaches the neutral degree, (2) DIMINISHERS such as *a little*, which denote a low degree on the scale, and (3) MINIMIZERS such as *barely*, which denote the lowest possible degree (Quirk et al. 1985). The scale that results from this classification is shown in (20).

[18]The classification of degree adverbs used here follows that of Quirk et al. (1985), with one change suggested by Paradis (1997): the term "attenuating degree adverb" replaces the rather odd term "downtoner."

(20) Scale of degree adverbs



The list in (21) provides examples of Innu-aimun degree adverbs that belong to each of these five classes.

(21) a. Minimizers: ***minâush*** 'hardly, scarcely, barely'; ***nâshpit*** 'not at all'

b. Diminishers: ***apishîsh*** 'a little'

c. Approximators: ***nânitû*** 'nearly'; ***tshekât*** 'almost'; ***uiesh*** 'approximately'[19]

d. Boosters: ***âiât*** 'increasingly'; ***etatû*** 'more'; ***iâmâ*** 'more and more'; ***shûkᵘ*** 'really, very much'; ***tshîtshue*** 'really, truly'[20]

e. Maximizers: ***miâm*** 'completely'; ***nâsht*** 'completely, absolutely, extremely'; ***nûtim*** 'entirely'[21]

7.1.3. MODAL ADVERBS. Modal adverbs, the third major adverb class, may be divided into four groups: (1) epistemic adverbs, (2) evidential adverbs, (3) evaluative adverbs, and (4) volitional adverbs. These terms, as well as their definitions below, are based on those of Cinque (1999).

[19] *Uiesh* also serves as an exclusively locative noun meaning 'somewhere' (§6.2.3.)

[20] *Tshîtshue* also serves as a modal adverb. This is unsurprising in light of research by Paradis (2003), who notes that the categories of degree and modality often overlap and argues that they are semantically related.

[21] *Nûtim* also serves as a quantifier meaning 'all' (§5.2.1). This, too, is unsurprising, as degree adverbs are often analyzed as involving quantificational semantics. Bresnan (1973), for example, treats degree and quantification as the same phenomenon.

Epistemic adverbs express the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition.[22] The examples listed in (22) are ordered from the lowest degree of certainty to the highest.

(22) ***pût*** 'perhaps, maybe, probably'; ***mituât*** 'probably'; ***tshessinât*** 'probably, surely'; ***ushtuîn*** 'in all likelihood'; ***tsheshkâ*** 'surely, certainly'; ***kanapuâ*** 'definitely'; ***uemut*** 'absolutely, necessarily'

Evidential adverbs such as those in (23) express the grounds on which the proposition is being asserted (Frawley 1992: 409). The grounds may be, for example, an allegation, obvious evidence, or a known truth.

(23) ***mipuâ*** 'apparently, obviously'; ***tâpue*** 'truly, really'; ***tshîtshue*** 'for real, truly'

Evaluative adverbs such as those in (24) express the speaker's personal evaluation of the event—for example, whether it is positive, negative, expected, unexpected, and so on.

(24) ***mîshkû*** 'by chance, luckily'; ***nâkat*** 'unexpectedly, contrary to what was hoped'; ***shemât*** 'as expected'; ***tepâssû*** 'by chance, in an unforseen manner'; ***tshishpeu*** 'fortunately'

Finally, volitional adverbs such as those in (25) express meanings of intention, willingness, and motivation.

(25) ***âikam*** 'unwilingly, reluctantly, grudgingly'; ***shetshen*** 'for nothing, for no reason'; ***uaushik^{u}*** 'by mistake'; ***usht*** 'on purpose'

[22]In Palmer's (1986) influential study of modality, such notions are instead referred to as "judgments," and the term "epistemic" is used as a cover term for both judgments and evidentials, the next category to be discussed here.

7.1.4. CONCLUSION—SEMANTIC ADVERB CLASSES. Figure 7.1 summarizes the semantic classification of Innu-aimun adverbs proposed in this section.[23] For most practical purposes, this classification is unnecessarily detailed. As will become evident in the next section, however, such fine-grained distinctions are needed in order to precisely describe the syntax of adverbs.

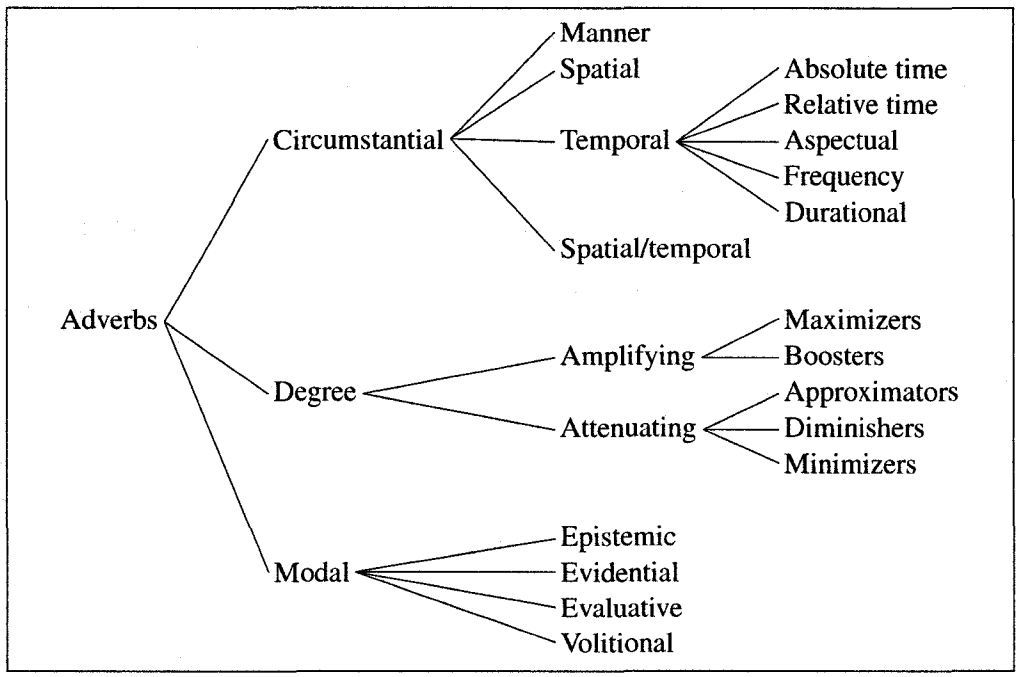


FIGURE 7.1. Semantic classification of Innu-aimun adverbs

[23]Note that bare-NP adverbs are not included in this diagram. Although it was most expedient to examine them as a separate group above, they are not, in fact, a legitimately distinct class of adverbs. From a purely semantic viewpoint, bare-NP adverbs actually belong in the same class as temporal adverbs, while from a purely grammatical viewpoint, they are actually NPs.

7.2. SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF ADVERBS. This section examines the syntax of Innu-aimun adverbs. The discussion is somewhat general and open-ended, for in Innu-aimun, as in many languages, the syntax of adverbs is difficult to describe. Even in English, a language with fairly rigid word order, the syntactic placement of adverbs is generally quite free, as exemplified in (26) for the adverb *gradually*.

(26) a. **Gradually**, the snow turned to rain.

b. The snow **gradually** turned to rain.

c. The snow turned **gradually** to rain.

d. The snow turned to rain **gradually**.

As Innu-aimun word order is far more flexible than that of English, the syntax of Innu-aimun adverbs is even less tractable. Nevertheless, one clear grammatical distinction may be drawn. Innu-aimun adverbs fall into two distinct syntactic classes: (1) VP and sentence adverbs and (2) degree modifiers. The following English examples illustrate the difference between these two classes.

VP and sentence adverbs, as their label suggests, modify verb phrases and sentences. In (27a), the VP adverb *quickly* modifies the VP *melted the snow*, while in (27b), the sentence adverb *perhaps* modifies the sentence *he wants his money back.* In syntactic literature, VP and sentence adverbs are normally represented by the symbol "Adv."

(27) a. The sun **quickly** [$_{VP}$ melted the snow].

b. **Perhaps** [$_{S}$ he wants his money back].

Degree modifiers, in contrast, modify constituents headed by non-verbal elements such as prepositions, negators, and other adverbs, as in the examples in (28).

(28) a. He threw it **right** [$_{PP}$ across the river].

b. I am **absolutely** [$_{NegP}$ not interested].

c. We should hear from them **really** [$_{AdvP}$ soon].

Degree modifiers may also be referred to as intensifiers or degree words. Though traditionally classified as adverbs, degree modifiers are syntactically quite distinct from prototypical VP and sentence adverbs, as they do not modify verb phrases or sentences. In contemporary generative syntax, degree modifiers are normally represented by the distinct symbol "Deg" rather than "Adv" (as in, for example, Abney 1987).[24]

The remainder of this section describes the properties of these two basic adverb classes in Innu-aimun, first examining VP and sentence adverbs (§7.2.1) and then turning to degree modifiers (§7.2.2).

7.2.1. VP ADVERBS AND SENTENCE ADVERBS. The syntax of VP and sentence adverbs is too complex to be exhaustively described in the space available here. This section adresses three fundamental issues which may be seen as preliminaries to a more complete description of Innu-aimun adverbial syntax: (1) the distinction between VP adverbs and sentence adverbs, (2) syntactic constraints on the ordering of adverbs, and (3) phonological constraints on adverb position.

[24]Note that the term "degree modifier" refers to a syntactic class of adverbs, while the term "degree adverb" in Section 7.1.2 above refers to a semantic class. Although there is much overlap between these two classes, they are not equivalent. The distinction between them is discussed further below.

DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN VP ADVERBS AND SENTENCE ADVERBS. As is evident from its label, the class of VP and sentence adverbs may be further divided into two subclasses: adverbs that modify verb phrases and adverbs that modify sentences. Various terms are used to refer to this distinction, as indicated in Table 7.1. I follow Jackendoff (1972) in using the labels "sentence adverb" and "VP adverb." In semantic terms, sentence adverbs modify the entire proposition while VP adverbs modify only the predicate. Examples of English sentence and VP adverbs are provided in (29).

(29) a. Sentence adverbs

(i) He **truly** must have taken you.
(ii) He **probably** knows Ann.

b. VP adverbs

(i) He **slowly** walked home.
(ii) He **sloppily** set up his tent.

In these simple examples, the two classes of adverbs appear to be grammatically identical, but they are in fact distinguished by a range of properties. For example, many English sentence adverbs may be paraphrased by adjectives in a biclausal structure, as in (30a)

TABLE 7.1. Labels for adverbs that modify sentences and verb phrases

Source	Modifier of S	Modifier of VP
Jackendoff 1972	sentence adverb	VP adverb
Thomason and Stalnaker 1973	sentence modifier	predicate modifier
McConnell-Ginet 1982	Ad-S	Ad-V

(Jackendoff 1972: 50). Such biclausal adjectival paraphrases are not available for VP adverbs, as shown in (30b).

(30) a. Biclausal adjectival paraphrases of sentence adverbs

(i) He **truly** must have taken you. = **It is true** that he must have taken you.
(ii) He **probably** knows Ann. = **It is probable** that he knows Ann.

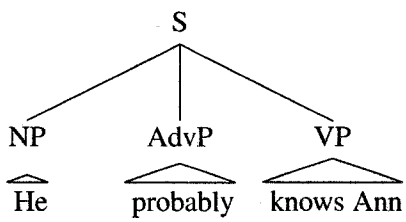
b. Biclausal adjectival paraphrases of VP adverbs

(i) He **slowly** walked home. ≠ ***It is slow** that he walked home.
(ii) He **sloppily** set up his tent. ≠ ***It is sloppy** that he set up his tent.

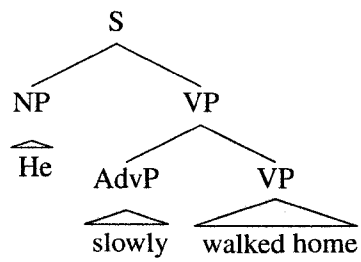
The examples in (30) clearly illustrate the difference between sentence and VP adverbs. A proposition may be true or probable, as indicated by the sentence adverbs *truly* and *probably* in (30a). A proposition may not, however, be slow or sloppy, so the adverbs *slowly* and *sloppily* in (30b) cannot modify the entire proposition; rather, they must be understood as modifying only the predicate (grammatically, the VP).

The difference between the two classes of adverbs may be syntactically represented by joining a sentence adverb with the entire sentence, as shown informally in (31a), while joining a VP adverb only with the VP, as in (31b).

(31) a. Sentence adverb



b. VP adverb



Examples of Innu-aimun sentence and VP adverbs are provided in (32). The sentence adverbs *tâpue* 'truly' and *pût* 'probably' are illustrated in (32a), while the VP adverbs *metinû* 'slowly' and *mâmâsh* 'sloppily' are illustrated in (32b).

(32) a. Sentence adverbs

(i) ***Tâpue*** *tshutinikushapan* *shâsh.*
truly 2.take.3>2.EVID.PRET already
'He truly must have taken you.' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 130)

(ii) *Pûn* ***pût*** *tshissenimetshe* *Âna.*
Paul probably know.about.3>3′ Ann.3′
'Paul probably knows about Ann.' (WO 2-2-27)

b. VP adverbs

(i) ***Metinû*** *pimûteu.*
slowly walk.3S
'He walks slowly.' (WO 1-5-63)

(ii) ***Mâmâsh*** *tshimatâu* *uîtsh.*
sloppily erect.3S his.tent
'He set up his tent sloppily.' (WO 1-13-66)

The same semantic relationships hold as in the English examples in (30) above: the sentence adverbs *tâpue* and *pût* comment on the entire proposition while the VP adverbs *metinû* and *mâmâsh* modify only the action denoted by the verb. In view of this semantic difference, we may assume that Innu-aimun sentence and VP adverbs are syntactically represented in the same way as shown for their English counterparts in (31) above.

Recall from above, however, that English sentence and VP adverbs are distinguished not only by their semantics, but also by various diagnostics such as the existence of a

biclausal adjectival paraphrase. A similar diagnostic is available in Innu-aimun. The diagnostic involves "clefting words" such as *eukuan* 'it is,' which were discusssed in Chapter 4. Clefting words are verb-like items that serve to establish equational sentences and clefts. Although they inflect for tense and modality just as verbs do, clefting words are distinguished from lexical verbs by their lack of verb-like semantic content. Unlike lexical verbs such as *pimûteu* 'walk,' clefting words such as *eukuan* 'it is' are function words and do not denote events. The semantic lightness of clefting words makes them useful as a diagnostic for adverb class. Since clefting words serve to establish propositions, a clause containing a clefting word may be modified by sentence adverbs such as *tâpue* 'truly,' *mipuâ* 'apparently,' and *pût* 'perhaps,' as shown by the examples in (33).

(33) a. ***Tâpue*** *eukuan nitânish.*
truly it.is 1.daughter
'It truly is my daughter.' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 130)

b. *Eukuannîtshe* ***mipuâ*** *menuâtâk.*
it.is.DUB.3′ apparently IC.like.CONJ.3>3′
'Apparently, that's the one that he likes.' (WO 3-5-23)

c. *Eukuannîtshe* ***pût*** *issîshuetshe.*
it.is.DUB.3′ perhaps say.DUB.3S
'Perhaps that's what he said.' (WO 4-2-66)

However, since clefting words do not carry verb-like semantic content, they may not be modified by VP adverbs such as *miâm* 'right now' and *mînuât* 'again.' When such adverbs occur in a sentence involving *eukuan*, they cannot be understood as modifying *eukuan*; rather, they must instead be understood as modifying a lexical verb, as shown in (34).

(34) a. *Eukuannû* ***miâm*** *aimikû.*
it.is.3′ right.now talk.3′>3
'That's who's talking to him right now.' (WO 4-2-29)

b. *Eukuan an* ***mînuât*** *tshe uâuîtamâkᵘ.*
it.is that again IC.FUT talk.about.CONJ.21P>3
That's what we're going to talk about again. (WO 3-4-27)

The pattern in (33)–(34) provides the following diagnostic:

(35) If an adverb modifies *eukuan*, it is a sentence adverb. If it cannot, and must instead occur with and modify a lexical verb, it is a VP adverb.

This diagnostic is most straightforwardly applied using sentences that contain *eukuan* but do not contain a lexical verb, such as (33a). If an adverb can occur in such sentences, it must have the capacity to act as a sentence adverb. If it cannot occur in such sentences, it must exclusively be a VP adverb.

SYNTACTIC CONSTRAINTS ON ADVERB ORDER. Although the distinction between VP and sentence adverbs is traditional, well-known, and descriptively convenient, contemporary syntactic research has shown it to be overly simplistic.[25] In influential recent work, Cinque (1999, 2004) argues that the syntax of adverbs is far richer than previously assumed. Cinque proposes that every clause, in every language, includes a rich structure of FUNCTIONAL HEADS—grammatical morphemes such as Epistemic Modality, Habitual Aspect, and Voice. These functional heads may be overtly realized as verbal morphology or auxiliaries, or they may be covert (i.e. non-pronounced "zero" morphemes). Cinque also

[25]Ernst (2002: 467), for example, remarks that the traditional distinction is "no longer useful or accurate."

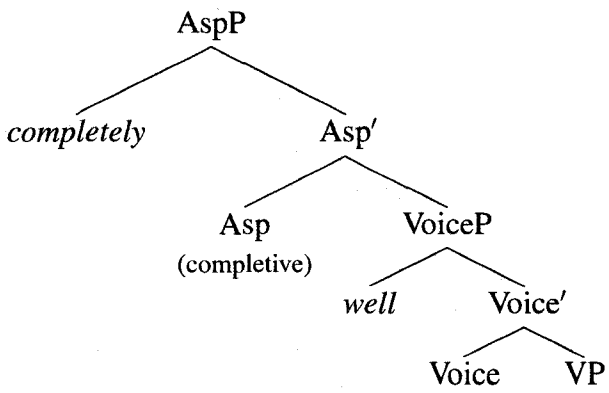
proposes that each functional head corresponds with a set of adverbs—for example, the Epistemic Modality head corresponds with epistemic adverbs (e.g. *probably*), the Habitual Aspect head corresponds with habitual adverbs (e.g. *usually*), and the Voice head corresponds with manner adverbs (e.g. *well*).[26] In fact, Cinque proposes not only that adverbs and functional heads are related, but that they are inseparable: the only way for an epistemic adverb to be introduced into a clause, for example, is as the specifier of an Epistemic Modality head. Furthermore, Cinque proposes that the order of these functional heads is rigidly fixed, as indicated by the hierarchy in (36).[27]

(36) Complementizer > Speech-act mood > Evaluative mood > Evidential mood > Epistemic modality > Past tense > Future tense > Irrealis mood > Volitional modality > Habitual aspect > Frequentative aspect > Anterior tense > Continuative aspect > Perfect aspect > Durative aspect > Progressive aspect > Completive aspect > Voice/manner > Verb

What this hierarchy predicts is that in any clause, in any language, the Voice head always precedes the verb, the Completive Aspect head always precedes the Voice head, the Prospective Aspect head always precedes the Completive Aspect head, and so on. This leads to a further prediction: since the order of functional heads is rigidly fixed, and since these functional heads are the only means by which adverbs are introduced into a sentence, the order of adverbs must be rigidly fixed as well. This is illustrated in (37) for the bottom few functional heads in Cinque's hierarchy.

[26]Voice and manner are connected, according to Cinque, because both involve the Agent thematic role.
[27]This hierarchy is simplified somewhat from the full version presented in Cinque 1999.

(37)



In (37), the Voice head introduces the manner adverb *well* and the Completive Aspect head introduces the completive adverb *completely*. Since the functional heads are fixed in this order, the prediction is that no language would use the opposite order—in any language, adverbs like *completely* must always precede adverbs like *well*, and never vice versa.[28,29]

Applying this reasoning to the entire hierarchy in (36) yields a set of richly detailed predictions about the obligatory ordering of adverbs. Since the hierarchy is taken to be a principle of Universal Grammar (UG), we would expect these predictions to hold true in all languages—and in fact, there are indications that this may indeed be the case. Cinque developed the hierarchy based on evidence from dozens of unrelated languages, with a particular focus on Romance. Subsequently, other researchers have found his predictions to be largely correct in Basque (Haddican 2001), English and Swedish (Beijer 2001), Hindi (Bha-

[28]Note that this hierarchy casts a different light upon the semantic adverb classes discussed in Section 7.1 above. It was emphasized there that semantically-determined classes cannot automatically be assumed to have grammatical relevance. Under Cinque's theory, however, these classes—or classes much like them—do indeed turn out to be grammatically relevant, as they participate in a fixed hierarchy of functional heads.

[29]There are, of course, principled exceptions to this rigid ordering. For example, an adverb may be fronted for emphatic purposes.

tia 2006), Malagasy (Rackowski 1998), Turkish (Wilson and Saygin 2002), and Warlpiri (Legate 2001).[30]

For the purposes of this thesis, Cinque's hierarchy has two significant consequences. First, it shows that the traditional distinction between sentence and VP adverbs is somewhat naive. There instead appears to be a broad continuum of grammatically relevant adverb classes. Those at the top of the adverbial hierarchy (mood adverbs) behave most like sentence adverbs, while those at the bottom of the hierarchy (manner adverbs) behave most like VP adverbs; those in the middle have intermediate properties. The traditional dichotomy should therefore be regarded simply as a convenient but imprecise means of referring to the upper and lower regions of the adverbial hierarchy.

The second consequence of Cinque's findings is an empirical prediction. When an Innu-aimun clause contains two or more adverbs, their order is predicted to follow the hierarchy in (36). This prediction will not be exhaustively tested in this thesis, as such an undertaking is a major research project in itself.[31] Space permits me only to outline certain preliminary matters that bear on the application of Cinque's hierarchy to Innu-aimun.

A hierarchical syntactic analysis of Innu-aimun adverbs faces one significant challenge: the word order of Innu-aimun is extremely flexible. In certain environments, this syntactic flexibility may obscure the underlying patterns of adverb order predicted by Cinque's hierarchy. For example, when a sequence of two adverbs occurs sentence-initially, the adverbs are typically freely ordered, as shown in (38). This free ordering likely arises because either

[30]Some researchers, including Ernst (1998, 2002) and Wilson and Saygin (2002), have argued that much of Cinque's hierarchy can be derived based on semantic scope. Rice (2000) uses a similar scope-based approach to explain morpheme order in Athapaskan languages. For the purposes of this thesis, it is not necessary to decide which approach is best. I use Cinque's account because it is the most detailed and therefore makes the most empirical predictions.

[31]Shields (2005;in press) is currently undertaking such a project for the Algonquian language Menominee.

of the two adverbs may be moved into a sentence-initial topic/focus position, as discussed for adverbial locative NPs in Section 6.2.2.

(38) a. 'He always walks slowly.' (WO 1-7-11)

(i) ***Nânitam metinû*** *pimûteu.*
always slowly walk.3S

(ii) ***Metinû nânitam*** *pimûteu.*
slowly always walk.3S

b. 'He truly still loves her.' (WO 1-12-47)

(i) ***Tâpue eshk"*** *mishta-minuâteu.*
truly still really-love.3>3′

(ii) ***Eshk"*** ***tâpue*** *mishta-minuâteu.*
still truly really-love.3>3′

Due to this free ordering, data involving sentence-initial adverb sequences is not useful for testing Cinque's hierarchy in Innu-aimun.

When two adverbs are placed in other positions, however, rigid ordering patterns do indeed emerge. For example, when one adverb precedes the verb while the other follows it, the relative order of the two adverbs is typically fixed, as shown in (39). Note that aside from the placement of the two adverbs, the examples in (39) are the same as those in (38) above. This illustrates that it is indeed the syntactic placement of the two adverbs that determines whether or not their relative order is fixed.[32]

[32]It should also be noted that the judgments in this example are those of a single speaker. The same is true for all subsequent examples in this section. Although the specific examples have not been extensively checked, the general patterns that they illustrate occur frequently.

(39) a. 'He always walks slowly.' (WO 1-7-11)

(i) ***Nânitam*** *pimûteu* ***metinû.***
always walk.3S slowly

(ii) ****Metinû*** *pimûteu* ***nânitam.***
slowly walk.3S always

b. 'He truly still loves her.' (WO 1-12-47)

(i) ***Tâpue*** *mishta-minuâteu* ***eshkᵘ.***
truly really-love.3>3′ still

(ii) ****Eshkᵘ*** *mishta-minuâteu* ***tâpue.***
still really-love.3>3′ truly

Using Cinque's terminology, example (39a) shows that the frequentative aspect adverb *nânitam* 'always' must precede the manner adverb *metinû* 'slowly,' while example (39b) shows that the evidential adverb *tâpue* 'truly' must precede the continuative aspect adverb *eshkᵘ* 'still.' Both of these orders, *Frequentative* > *Manner* and *Evidential* > *Continuative*, are predicted by the hierarchy in (36).

A similar pattern is shown in (40). Here, the volitional adverb *usht* 'on purpose' obligatorily precedes the manner adverb *metîkât* 'slowly,' as predicted by Cinque's hierarchy. In (40a), one adverb precedes the verb while the other follows it, while in (40b), the adverbs are adjacent sentence-medially. In both environments, the ordering is rigid.

(40) 'Marie walked slowly on purpose.' (WO 6-1-11)

a. Subj-**Adv**-V-**Adv**

(i) *Mânî* ***usht*** *pimûtekâshû* ***metîkât.***
Marie intentionally walk.3S slowly

(ii) **Mânî* ***metîkât*** *pimûtekâshû* ***usht.***
Marie slowly walk.3S intentionally

b. Subj-**Adv-Adv**-V[33]

(i) *Mânî* ***usht*** ***metîkât*** *pimûtekâshû.*
Marie intentionally slowly walk.3S

(ii) **Mânî* ***metîkât*** ***usht*** *pimûtekâshû.*
Marie slowly intentionally walk.3S

One final environment in which adverbs are rigidly ordered is shown in (41). Here, the two adverbs are placed before and after the pre-verbal subject NP. In this environment, the frequentative aspect adverb *nânitam* 'always' must precede the manner adverb *mâmâsh* 'sloppily,' again as predicted by Cinque's hierarchy.

(41) 'Joseph always sets up his tent sloppily.' (WO 1-13-66)

a. ***Nânitam*** *Shûshep* ***mâmâsh*** *tshimatâu* *uîtsh.*
always Joseph sloppily erect.3S his.tent

b. ****Mâmâsh*** *Shûshep* ***nânitam*** *tshimatâu* *uîtsh.*
sloppily Joseph always erect.3S his.tent

In summary, this section has illustrated that while Innu-aimun adverbs are sometimes freely ordered, rigid ordering patterns may be observed in several syntactic environments. The environments discussed above are summarized in (42).

[33]Note that for some speakers, adverbs in the environment shown in (40b) are freely ordered.

(42) Syntactic environments for adverb order

a. Free order: **Adv**-**Adv**-V

b. Rigid order:

(i) **Adv**-V-**Adv**
(ii) Subj-**Adv**-V-**Adv**
(iii) Subj-**Adv**-**Adv**-V (free order for some speakers)
(iv) **Adv**-Subj-**Adv**-V

Furthermore, when rigid ordering patterns do exist, they generally follow the predictions of Cinque's hierarchy, as shown above. These preliminary results therefore indicate that as long as the data is carefully utilized, Cinque's hierarchy of functional heads provides a useful tool for gaining deeper insight into the syntax of Innu-aimun adverbs. Any further pursuit of this promising line of inquiry, however, must await future research.

PHONOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS ON ADVERB POSITION. In addition to the ordering patterns discussed above, there is another somewhat different factor that may also influence the position of adverbs. Certain Innu-aimun adverbs, most obviously *pût* 'perhaps, probably' and *mân* 'often,' appear to be what Ernst (2002) and Abeillé and Godard (2003) refer to as LIGHT ADVERBS—phonologically small adverbs that occur in a more restricted range of positions than their non-light counterparts.[34] In English, for example, the adverb *just* is a light adverb. As shown in (43), *just* may not occupy the same range of positions as the similar non-light adverb *recently*.

(43) a. Non-light adverb, typical adverbial distribution

(i) The kitchen was **recently** renovated.
(ii) The kitchen was renovated **recently**.

[34] *Mân* is a variant of *mâni*. I refer to the word as *mân* because this is the form used by my consultants.

b. Light adverb, restricted distribution

(i) The kitchen was **just** renovated.
(ii) *The kitchen was renovated **just**.

French also has a class of light adverbs. The examples in (44), from Abeillé and Godard 2003, show that the light adverb *bien* 'well' has a more restricted distribution than the similar non-light adverb *correctement* 'correctly.'

(44) a. Non-light adverb, typical adverbial distribution

(i) *Il mange **correctement** sa soupe.* 'He eats his soup correctly.'
(ii) *Il mange sa soupe **correctement**.*

b. Light adverb, restricted distribution

(i) *Il mange **bien** sa soupe.* 'He eats his soup well.'
(ii) **Il mange sa soupe **bien**.*

The Innu-aimun adverbs *pût* and *mân* are also distributionally restricted. Both adverbs are required to follow a suitably heavy constituent. (The criteria for "heaviness" will be discussed further below.) As shown in (45), *pût* and *mân* may follow a verb, a pre-verbal subject, or a post-verbal object; however, neither adverb may occur sentence-initially.[35]

(45) a. 'Perhaps Edward knows about Charlotte.' (WO 4-1-41)

(i)	*Etuet*	*tshissenimetshe*	***pût***	*Shânuta.*
	Edward	know.about.DUB.3>3′	perhaps	Charlotte.3′
(ii)	*Etuet*	***pût***	*tshissenimetshe*	*Shânuta.*
	Edward	perhaps	know.about.DUB.3>3′	Charlotte.3′
(iii)	***Pût***	*Etuet*	*tshissenimetshe*	*Shânuta.*
	perhaps	Edward	know.about.DUB.3>3′	Charlotte.3′

[35]Most speakers share the judgments indicated in this section. However, a small number of speakers permit *pût* and *mân* to occupy any position. For these speakers, *pût* and *mân* are apparently not light adverbs.

b. 'I often visit Joseph.' (WO 1-5-43)

(i) *Nimûpishtuâu Shûshep* ***mân.***
1.visit.1>3 Joseph often

(ii) *Nimûpishtuâu* ***mân*** *Shûshep.*
1.visit.1>3 often Joseph

(iii) ****Mân*** *nimûpishtuâu Shûshep.*
often 1.visit.1>3 Joseph

Since *pût* and *mân* must always follow some other constituent, they appear to be enclitics. The enclitic behaviour of certain particles is in fact well-attested in the Algonquian languages, many of which have a class of second-position particles that obligatorily occur as enclitics hosted by the first word in the sentence. The Innu-aimun question marker *â*, described in Chapter 8, is a second-position particle, as are the Cree focusing particles (Reinholtz and Wolfart 2001).

Second-position enclitics are quite common outside the Algonquian family as well, and have been recognized since the work of Wackernagel (1892). The adverbs *pût* and *mân* are not, strictly speaking, second-position enclitics, since they can encliticize onto non-sentence-initial words as in the (i) examples in (45) above. However, they may nevertheless be regarded as enclitics; they simply enjoy a slightly less restricted distribution than prototypical Algonquian second-position enclitics.[36]

[36]Note that the other Algonquian second-position enclitics mentioned in this paragraph—the Innu-aimun question marker and the Cree focusing particles—all involve focus, as discussed further in Chapter 8. It is possible, then, that these particles end up in second position simply because they accompany focused constituents, which, for independent reasons, may be required occur sentence-initially. If this is the case, then the fact that these enclitics occupy second position is not one of their fundamental properties; rather, it is simply a consequence of the fact that they are enclitics that accompany focused items. Since the enclitic adverbs *pût* and *mân* are not involved in focusing, it follows that they should not be restricted to sentence-initial hosts.

The exact nature of the constituent onto which *pût* and *mân* must encliticize is unclear. There are various possibilities: the host may be, for example, a prosodic word, a prosodic phrase, or a stressed constituent. Since almost nothing is known about the prosodic structure of Innu-aimun, this section simply describes the distribution of *pût* and *mân* in informal, elementary terms, leaving the precise specification of the relevant prosodic factors to future research.

Example (45) above illustrated that *pût* and *mân* may encliticize onto a verb, a post-verbal object, or a pre-verbal subject. For certain speakers, however, pre-verbal subjects do not constitute suitable hosts, as shown in (46).

(46) 'George often talks to Raphael.' (WO 1-8-13)

a. *Shuâush aimieu **mân** Nâpâiena.*
George talk.to.3>3′ often Raphael.3′

b. **Shuâush **mân** aimieu Nâpâiena.*
George often talk.to.3>3′ Raphael.3′

In addition to verbs and nouns, another potential host for enclitic adverbs must be noted. It is possible for *pût* and *mân* to encliticize onto another adverb, as illustrated for *pût* in (47). Such examples occur frequently. The opposite order, in which *pût* occurs sentence-initially, is ungrammatical, and is quite strongly rejected by most speakers.

(47) a. 'Maybe he already knows.' (WO 2-2-10)

(i) ***Shâsh pût** tshissenitamûtshe.*
already maybe know.DUB.3>3′

(ii) ***Pût shâsh** tshissenitamûtshe.*
maybe already know.DUB.3>3′

b. 'Maybe Ann always lied to us.' (WO 1-4-43)

(i) ***Nânitam pût*** *Ân tshî katshinâssîmikunânâkupan.*
always maybe Ann PERF lie.DUB.PRET.3>1P

(ii) ****Pût nânitam*** *Ân tshî katshinâssîmikunânâkupan.*
maybe always Ann PERF lie.DUB.PRET.3>1P

Note that the ordering patterns in (47) are the reverse of what Cinque's adverbial hierarchy predicts. The hierarchy predicts that *pût*, an epistemic adverb, will obligatorily precede an anterior tense adverb such as *shâsh* or a frequentative adverb such as *nânitam*. In (47), however, *pût* instead obligatorily follows these adverbs. The enclitic status of *pût* explains why this unexpected order occurs. The sentences in (47) are therefore principled exceptions to Cinque's hierarchy, not counter-examples to it.[37] The enclitic status of light adverbs such as *pût* and *mân* must consequently be kept in mind when attempting to apply Cinque's adverbial hierarchy to Innu-aimun.

CONCLUSION—VP AND SENTENCE ADVERBS. This section has sketched an outline of the basic facts that must be taken into account in an analysis of Innu-aimun VP and sentence adverbs. The difference between the two classes was discussed and a test for differentiating them was suggested. It was also shown that from a more theoretical perspective, much finer grammatical distinctions may be drawn, as adverbs actually fall into a broad range of rigidly ordered syntactic classes. Only the beginnings of an analysis along

[37]In fact, even if the enclitic nature of *pût* was not already established, the ordering patterns in (47) would still not constitute evidence against Cinque's hierarchy. Recall from example (38) above that sentence-initial sequences of adverbs are freely ordered and therefore cannot be used as evidence either for or against an adverbial hierarchy. Whether Cinque's hierarchy holds or not, two sentence-initial adverbs should be freely ordered, so in any case, some special explanation is required to account for the exceptional fact that the sentence-initial adverbs in (47) are indeed rigidly ordered. Fortunately, the enclitic explanation is already available from independent evidence.

these lines were provided. Two factors that complicate such an analysis were identified: the free adverb order found in sentence-initial position and the enclitic status of certain "light" adverbs.

7.2.2. DEGREE MODIFIERS. Degree modifiers, the second basic class of adverbs, are quite different from VP and sentence adverbs, as they modify constituents headed by items other than verbs. The examples in (48) illustrate that the degree modifier *nâsht* 'completely, absolutely, extremely' may accompany a VP adverb, a prepositional phrase, a locative NP, or a negative phrase.

(48) a. *Etuet* ***nâsht*** [$_{AdvP}$ *metinû*] *aimû.*
Edward extremely [$_{AdvP}$ slowly] talk.3S
'Edward talks extremely slowly.' (WO 3-4-48)

b. ***Nâsht*** [$_{PP}$ *nete* *shek^{u}* *tetapuâkanit*] *tâu* *atim^{u}.*
completely [$_{PP}$ the.LOC under couch.LOC] be.3S dog
'The dog is completely under the couch.' (WO 1-1-42)

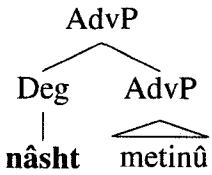
c. ***Nâsht*** [$_{NP}$ *nete* *Sheshatshît*] *tshiminâten* *ishkuteu.*
completely [$_{NP}$ that.LOC Sheshatshiu.LOC] smell.2>3 fire
'You smelled the fire all throughout Sheshatshiu.' (WO 3-1-42)

d. ***Nâsht*** [$_{NegP}$ *apû* *nishtuâpamak*].
absolutely [$_{NegP}$ NEG recognize.CONJ.1>3]
'I absolutely don't recognize him.' (WO 4-1-43)

In the syntactic literature, degree modifiers are represented in various ways: as adjuncts (Abeillé and Godard 2003), as specifiers (Bowers 1975; Jackendoff 1977), or as heads of their own functional projection, the Degree Phrase (DegP) (Abney 1987; Corver 1997).

For simplicity, the adjunct representation is used here.[38] The syntactic structures of the modified constituents in (48) are illustrated in (49).

(49) a.



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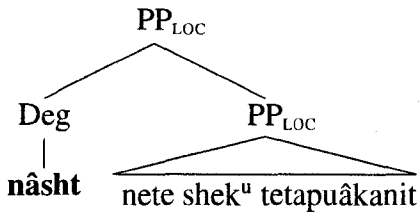

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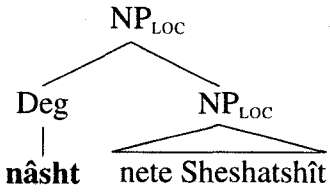

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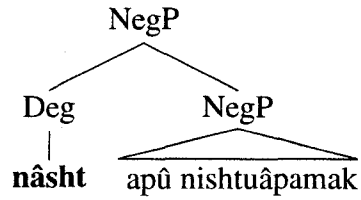
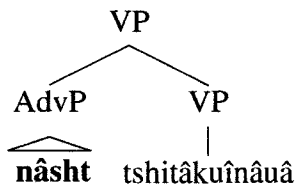


Most of the degree adverbs outlined in Section 7.1.2 above may act as degree modifiers. It is important to note, however, that the terms "degree adverb" and "degree modifier" are not equivalent. In this thesis, the two terms refer to different classification schemes. Degree adverbs are a semantic class, in opposition to circumstantial and modal adverbs. Degree modifiers, on the other hand, are a grammatical class, in opposition to VP and sentence adverbs. Most members of the semantic class of degree adverbs may function grammatically as degree modifiers, as shown for *nâsht* in (49) above. However, they may also act as VP adverbs, as shown in (50a), where *nâsht* modifies the verb *tshitâkuînâuâ*. The syntactic structure of the modified VP is shown in (50b).

[38]Adjunction is used simply for descriptive convenience. The specifier representation is not used because a principled distinction between specifiers and adjuncts has not been drawn in this thesis. The more sophisticated DegP representation is not used because it does not enhance the the basic description provided here. In more theoretical work, however, the use of DegP seems preferable, as argued by Corver (1997).

(50) a. *"Uuu, uuu," iteu, "**nâsht** [$_{VP}$ tshitâkuînâuâ]."*
ooh ooh say.3>3′ extremely [$_{VP}$ 2.hurt.SBJCTV.2>1]
"Ooh, ooh," he said to him, "you're really hurting me." (LITP 1-4-083)

b.



This subtle difference illustrates that semantic and grammatical classifications are not equivalent and must be carefully and explicitly distinguished.

Degree modifiers may occupy several syntactic positions. They often precede the constituent they modify, as in (48) above, but they may also follow it, as in (51).

(51) a. [$_{AdvP}$ *Shâsh*] ***tshekât*** *nika tshîshtânân.*
[$_{AdvP}$ already] almost 1.FUT finish.1P>3
'We're just about finished.'
(lit 'We're almost already going to finish.') (WO 4-3-20)

b. [$_{AdvP}$ *Anûtshîsh*] ***shûk^{u}*** *tshîtûteu.*
[$_{AdvP}$ now] really leave.3S
'She left very recently.'
(lit. 'She left really now'; cf. English *just now* 'very recently') (WO 2-1-15)

In addition to immediately preceding or following the constituent they modify, degree modifiers may also be separated from it, forming a discontinuous constituent. This is exemplified in (52), where the verb comes between the degree modifier *miâm* 'exactly, completely' and the incorporated-noun preposition that it modifies.

(52) ***Miâm*** *nuepimiten* ***akâmi-shîpît.***
completely 1.throw.3>3′ across.river
'I threw it right across the river.' (WO 2-2-13)

This appears to be another example of the pre-verbal dislocation process identified by Reinholtz (1999), which has also been shown to affect Innu-aimun quantifiers (§5.2.1), determiners (§6.2.2), and prepositions (§6.3.1).

Finally, it is important to note that certain morphological elements—the augmentative preform *mishta-* and the diminutive suffix *-îsh*—serve the same function as degree modifiers.[39] These items may, for example, combine with adverbs to indicate degree modification. The *mishta-* preform, exemplified in (53), acts as a booster, using the terminology from the semantic classification of degree adverbs in (21) above.

(53) Augmentative *mishta-*

a. *kâtâkᵘ* 'far'; ***mishta-kâtâkᵘ*** 'very far' (WO 3-6-9)

b. *metîkât* 'slowly/quietly'; ***mishta-metîkât*** 'very slowly/quietly' (WO 4-1-47)

c. *minekâsh* 'a long time'; ***mishta-minekâsh*** 'a really long time' (WO 2-4-41)

The diminutive suffix *-îsh*, exemplified in (54), acts as a diminisher, much like the degree adverb *apishîsh* 'a little, somewhat.'

(54) Diminutive *-îsh*

a. *âishkat* 'in the future'; *âishkatshîsh* 'in the near future' (WO 1-5-58)

b. *metîkât* 'slowly/quietly'; *metîkâtshîsh* 'fairly slowly/quietly' (WO 4-4-35)

[39]The diminutive suffix is realized as *-îsh* on adverbs, but has other allomorphs which are not discussed here. See Cunningham (forthcoming) for more about the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi diminutive suffix.

c. *minekâsh* 'a long time'; ***minekâshîsh*** 'a fairly long time' (WO 2-4-41)

d. *shâshîsh* 'long ago'; ***shâshîshîsh*** 'fairly long ago' (WO 3-5-5)

Interestingly, many adverbs that take the diminutive suffix cannot alternatively occur with the equivalent degree modifier *apishîsh* 'a little, somewhat,' as shown for *minekâsh* 'a long time' and *shâshîsh* 'long ago' in (55). Consultants comment that the periphrastic forms involving *apishîsh* sound like something a young child would say.

(55) a. ***apishîsh** minekâsh*; must use ***minekâshîsh*** (WO 3-5-6)

b. ***apishîsh** shâshîsh*; must use ***shâshîshîsh*** (WO 3-5-5)

The ungrammaticality of the periphrastic forms appears to be a morphological blocking effect. In various languages, when equivalent morphological and periphrastic forms are both available, the morphological form is typically preferred—its availability may be said to "block" the use of the periphrastic equivalent. In English, for example, the adjective *big* has the morphological comparative form *bigger*; this form blocks the periphrastic equivalent **more big* (Poser 1992).[40] The pattern in (55) appears to be of the same nature: the morphological diminutive forms block the equivalent periphrastic diminutives. This analysis explains why the periphrastic forms are associated with young children, as a young child may not yet have acquired the necessary morphological process and therefore would have access only to the periphrastic rendering.

This concludes the discussion of degree modifiers. As shown in this section, degree modifiers are grammatically distinct from VP and sentence adverbs in that they modify

[40]The idea that a morphological form may block an equivalent phrasal form is from Poser (1992). For background on morphological blocking in general, see Aronoff 1976 and Andrews 1990.

non-verbal constituents such as PPs, locative NPs, negative phrases, and other adverbs. They should not be confused with the semantic class of degree adverbs, which may function grammatically either as degree modifiers or as VP adverbs. The syntax of degree modifiers is fairly free—they typically precede the constituent they modify but may also follow it or occur separately from it. In order to fully explain the distribution of degree modifiers, their equivalence with similar morphological items must be considered.

7.3. CONCLUSION. This chapter has examined Innu-aimun adverbs from two alternative perspectives. From a semantic perspective, adverbs were divided into circumstantial, degree, and modal classes, which were in turn divided into more specific subclasses. (See Figure 7.1 for the complete semantic classification.) From a syntactic perspective, adverbs were classified as VP adverbs, sentence adverbs, and degree modifiers. The semantic and syntactic classifications of adverbs are summarized in Figure 7.2. In addition to providing these classifications, this chapter has also sketched the basic properties of each class of adverbs and suggested some tentative paths for future analysis.

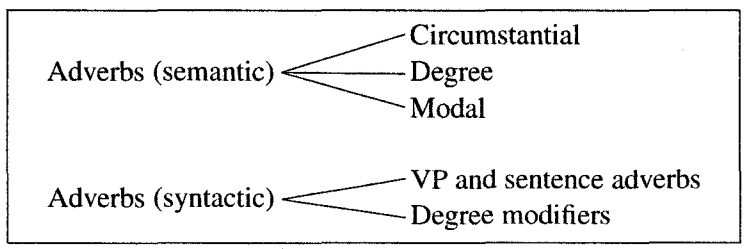


FIGURE 7.2. Semantic and syntactic classifications of adverbs

CHAPTER 8

MINOR CATEGORIES

This chapter examines several distinct classes of particles: focus particles (§8.1), question particles (§8.2), negators (§8.3), conjunctions (§8.4), and interjections (§8.5). The label "minor" refers only to the size of these classes, not to their significance, for indeed, these minor categories have received far more descriptive and theoretical attention than all other classes of particles combined. Innu-aimun negators are examined by MacKenzie (1992) and Brittain (1996, 1997, 1999, 2001), Innu-aimun conjunctions are studied by Starks (1982) and Branigan and MacKenzie (2002b), and the Cree equivalents of Innu-aimun focus and question particles are examined by Reinholtz (2002) and Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001). This chapter does not approach the theoretical sophistication of some of the above research. Rather, it aims to provide a more comprehensive description of the minor categories than is currently available.

8.1. FOCUS PARTICLES. Focus particles are not as well-known as more traditional parts of speech. This section therefore begins with a brief description of English focus particles before proceeding to examine their Innu-aimun counterparts. Focus particles are words such as *only*, *even*, *too*, *also*, *instead*, and emphatic *herself*, as exemplified in (1).

(1) a. **Only** Mary bought a house.
b. **Even** Mary bought a house.
c. Mary bought a house, **too**.
d. Mary **also** bought a house.
e. Mary bought a house **instead**.
f. Mary **herself** bought a house.

Focus particles have been discussed by Horn (1969), Anderson (1972), Jackendoff (1972), Karttunen and Karttunen (1977), and many subsequent researchers. The broadest and most comprehensive treatment of focus particles is König's (1991) monograph, which provides the basic analytic framework and terminology used in this section.

To understand the function of focus particles, we must first consider examples in which a constituent is focused *without* the accompaniment of a focus particle. In the examples in (2), the constituents *Mary*, *bought*, and *a house* are each, in turn, contrastively focused. (Capital letters are used here to indicate contrastive stress; the interpretation of the focused constituent is clarified in parentheses.)

(2) Contrastive focus, no focus particle

a. MARY bought a house. (Mary did, as opposed to John)
b. Mary BOUGHT a house. (she bought one, as opposed to renting one)
c. Mary bought a HOUSE. (a house, as opposed to a car)

A focus particle such as *also* may be added to these examples, as in (3).

(3) Contrastive focus plus focus particle

a. MARY **also** bought a house. (Mary did, **in addition to** John)
b. Mary **also** BOUGHT a house. (she bought one, **in addition to** renting one)
c. Mary **also** bought a HOUSE. (a house, **in addition to** a car)

The examples in (3) are quite similar to those in (2); however, as indicated, the lexical meaning of the focus particle contributes to the interpretation of the focused constituent. Note that although *also* occupies the same syntactic position in all three sentences, it is understood to enter into a semantic relationship with the focused constituent in each case. These examples illustrate the two basic properties of focus particles: they carry lexical meaning and they are obligatorily associated with focused constituents.

Focus particles fall into two major semantic classes: RESTRICTIVE and ADDITIVE (König 1991).[1] Restrictive focus particles give the focused constituent an "exclusive" interpretation. In the examples in (4), the restrictive focus particles *only* and *just* indicate that the set of house-buying people contains only Mary.

(4) a. (i) **Only** MARY bought a house.
(ii) **Just** MARY bought a house.

b. Entailments: Mary bought a house; nobody else bought a house.

Additive focus particles, on the other hand, have an "inclusive" interpretation. In the examples in (5), the additive focus particles *too*, *also*, and *even* all entail the presupposition that somebody else bought a house as well; furthermore, they serve to add the focused constituent, *Mary*, to this set of house-buying people.[2]

(5) a. (i) MARY bought a house **too**.
(ii) MARY **also** bought a house.
(iii) **Even** MARY bought a house.

b. Entailments: Mary bought a house; somebody else bought a house.

[1]The equivalent terms EXCLUSIVE and INCLUSIVE are also used, as in Traugott and Dasher 2002.
[2]A further semantic distinction may be drawn between *even* and *also/too*. See Section 8.1.2 below.

However, as König (1991) notes, not all focus particles belong to these two basic classes. In particular, emphatic reflexives such as *herself* in (6) do not seem to be either additive or restrictive, though they are otherwise quite similar to focus particles.

(6) Mary **herself** bought a house.

I will refer to the Innu-aimun equivalents of such items as EMPHATIC focus particles. This follows a distinction recently proposed by several researchers. Echepare (1997; 1998), for example, argues that focus should be divided into two types: CONTRASTIVE focus, which establishes contrastive interpretations as in (2) above, and EMPHATIC focus, which marks a constituent as providing new, unexpected, or noteworthy information without necessarily imposing a strict contrastive interpretation.[3] At least for the informal descriptive purposes of this thesis, then, it seems reasonable to recognize a class of emphatic focus particles which serve to emphasize a constituent without necessarily establishing a contrast in the manner of more prototypical focus constructions.

The remainder of this section examines Innu-aimun focus particles in terms of the semantic classification outlined above, discussing restrictive focus particles (§8.1.1), additive focus particles (§8.1.2), emphatic focus particles (§8.1.3), and certain others which do not fall into the three major classes (§8.1.4). Note, however, that the members of these semantic classes are not grammatically homogeneous. As will be shown, Innu-aimun focus particles fall into at least two distinct syntactic groups—referred to here as PRIMARY and SECONDARY focus particles—which cut across the boundaries of the three semantic classes.

[3]É. Kiss (1998) draws a similar distinction using the terms IDENTIFICATIONAL and INFORMATIONAL focus, as does Gundel (1999) using the terms CONTRASTIVE and SEMANTIC focus. The profusion of terminology is likely due to the fact that all three researchers published their work at around the same time. They all appear to be making essentially the same distinction.

Focus particles also differ in their phonological properties: some are enclitics, some are freestanding words, and some may act either as enclitics or as freestanding words.

8.1.1. RESTRICTIVE FOCUS PARTICLES. Innu-aimun has the restrictive focus particles *muk*^{u} 'only, just,' *meshekût* 'mostly,' and *pissik*^{u} 'nothing but.'[4] *Muk*^{u} is the most frequently used of the three particles and appears to be syntactically distinct from the other two. This section therefore examines *muk*^{u} separately from *meshekût* and *pissik*^{u}.

RESTRICTIVE *MUK*^{U} 'ONLY, JUST.' Like most focus particles, *muk*^{u} may accompany a wide variety of constituents, including noun phrases, verb phrases, and adverbs. *Muk*^{u} typically occurs either immediately before the focused constituent, as in (7), or immediately after it, as in (8). As these examples illustrate, the combination of *muk*^{u} and the focused constituent almost always occupies the clause-initial position. This property, which is shared with focused phrases in Cree (Reinholtz and Wolfart 2001), accords with Branigan and MacKenzie's (2000: 7) observation that Innu-aimun focal phrases always occur as specifiers of the CP projection.

(7) Examples of pre-focus *muk*^{u}

a. ***Muk***^{u} [$_{AdvP}$ *apishîsh*] *tshika tshîtshîkâtueuâu nete.*
only [$_{AdvP}$ a.little] 2.FUT cut.branches that.LOC
'You will cut the branches only a little there.' (LITP 3-4-029)

b. ***Muk***^{u} [$_{NP}$ *utâtshâpîa*] *apû tâniti.*
only [$_{NP}$ 3.bow.3′] NEG be.CONJ.3′
'Only his bow was gone.' (LITP 2-7-054)

[4] *Meshekût* is also pronounced as *meshekû*; it will be spelled uniformly as *meshekût* here.

c. *Nâsht apû aimit,* ***muk^{u}*** [$_{VP}$ *mâu*].
absolutely NEG talk.CONJ.3S only [$_{VP}$ cry.3S]
'He wouldn't talk at all, he would only cry.' (LITP 4-3-277)

(8) Examples of post-focus *muk^{u}*

a. [$_{NP}$ *Ne ishkueu*] ***muk^{u}*** *tshîmetshe* *unâpema.*
[$_{NP}$ that woman] only accompany.in.canoe.DUB.3>3′ 3.man.3′
'Only the woman went with her husband in the canoe.' (LITP 2-3-012)

b. [$_{VP}$ *Nîshutipishkuenua*] ***muk^{u}***.
[$_{VP}$ stay.two.nights.3′] only
'He was only gone two nights.' (LITP 4-2-089)

c. [$_{AdvP}$ *Uenipissîsh*] ***muk^{u}*** *nika mûpin.*
[$_{AdvP}$ little.while] only 1.FUT visit.1S
'I'm going to visit for just a little while.' (WO 4-3-25)

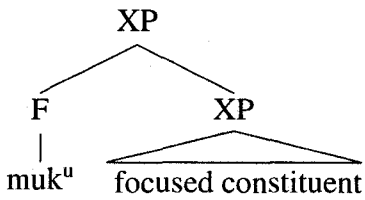
The pre-focus and post-focus orders both commonly occur. In this respect, *muk^{u}* differs from the focus particles of Cree, which are obligatorily post-positional (Reinholtz and Wolfart 2001).[5]

Syntactically, we may follow Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001) in representing focus particles as adjoining to the constituent they occur with, as in (9).[6]

[5]Certain Innu-aimun focus particles are obligatorily post-positional as well—specifically, the emphatic focus particles *uîn* and *mâ* and the question particle *â* (which has focusing properties). Post-positional status is simply not a universal property of Innu-aimun focus particles, unlike in Cree.

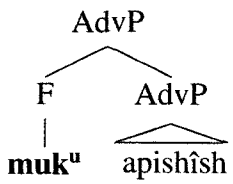
[6]The focus particle is labeled as "F" here in order to distinguish it from "Foc," the label commonly used to represent the focus position on the left periphery of a clause. Following common practice, Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001) propose that a focused XP occupies the specifier of FocP. Under this analysis, the focus particle itself is not the head of FocP—rather, it is simply an adjunct to the focused XP.

(9)



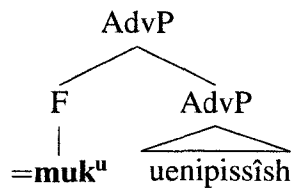
This diagram implies that *muk^{u}* should always precede the focused XP. I propose that in the underlying syntactic structure, this is indeed the case. Why, then, may *muk^{u}* either precede or follow the focused XP on the surface? I propose that the ordering variation arises because *muk^{u}* has two phonological variants: the freestanding word *muk^{u}* and the enclitic *=muk^{u}*.[7] This is similar to English words such as *not*, which has the freestanding form *not* and the enclitic form *=n't*. Freestanding *muk^{u}* remains in its underlying pre-XP position on the surface, as in (10a). Enclitic *muk^{u}*, however, must attach to the neighbouring XP in order to satisfy its enclitic properties, as in (10b).[8]

(10) a. Freestanding *muk^{u}* (from (7a))



OUTPUT: **muk^{u}** apishîsh

b. Enclitic *=muk^{u}* (from (8c))



OUTPUT: uenipissîsh=**muk^{u}**

This analysis has several benefits. First, it gives the ordering variation in (7)–(8) a principled motivation, which is theoretically preferable to saying that the position of *muk^{u}* is freely and arbitrarily decided by the syntax.

[7]The equals sign is used here to represent a clitic boundary.

[8]It is unclear how *muk^{u}* and the XP come together. The process could involve either lowering of *muk^{u}* or raising of the XP and could take place either in the narrow syntax or at the PF interface.

Furthermore, this analysis reduces the difference between Cree focus particles and *muk*ʷ to one simple, precisely-defined property: Cree focus particles, which are obligatorily post-positional, have only an enclitic form, while *muk*ʷ, which may be pre- or post-positional, has both freestanding and enclitic forms.

An additional benefit is that the analysis in (10) unifies focus particles with other Innu-aimun function words such as demonstratives (§3.3.2), quantifiers (§5.2.1), and degree modifiers (§7.2.2), which, by default, all precede the constituent they combine with. By analyzing *muk*ʷ as having an optional enclitic variant, we may see it, too, as being uniformly pre-positional in the underlying syntax.

Finally, the enclitic approach makes a unified syntactic analysis of all Innu-aimun focus particles possible. Aside from focus particles that may be either pre- or post-positional, such as *muk*ʷ, Innu-aimun also has certain obligatorily pre-positional focus particles as well as some that are obligatorily post-positional, as is shown below. The analysis in (10) allows us to represent all of these particles as preceding the focused XP in the underlying syntactic representation. The surface facts are then easily obtained by assuming that obligatorily pre-positional focus particles have only a freestanding form and thus remain in their underlying pre-XP position while obligatorily post-positional focus particles have only an enclitic form and thus must attach to the XP on the surface. This analysis therefore captures the grammatical unity of the class of focus particles while providing an independent, principled reason for their surface word-order variation.

In all of the examples presented thus far, *muk*ʷ has been immediately adjacent to the focused XP. Occasionally, however, it occurs separately, as in (11).

(11) ***Muk^{u}*** *pîtutepanû* [$_{NP}$ *nânâ* *auâss*].
only go.in.3S [$_{NP}$ that.ABS child]
'Only the child went inside.' (LITP 4-3-250)

This appears to be another instance of the pre-verbal dislocation process identified by Reinholtz (1999), which also affects quantifiers (§5.2.1), demonstratives (§6.2.2), prepositions (§6.3.1), and degree modifiers (§7.2.2). Examples such as (11) provide a unique insight into the nature of this process. Unlike the other phrases it affects (NPs, PPs, and AdvPs), focused phrases are generally required to be clause-initial, as noted by Branigan and MacKenzie (2001) and shown in (7)–(8) above. In principle, then, we would expect (11) to have the form given in (12), in which the entire focal phrase *muk^{u} nânâ auâss* 'only the child' is at the beginning of the sentence.

(12) [$_{NP}$ Muk^{u} [$_{NP}$ nânâ auâss]] pîtutepanû

Since the structure in (12) satisfies the requirement that focused phrases be clause-initial, I will assume that (12) is indeed the underlying representation of (11). The surface order may then be derived by moving the NP *nânâ auâss* to the end of the sentence, as in (13).

(13) [$_{NP}$ Muk^{u} [$_{NP}$ ~~nânâ auâss~~]] pîtutepanû [$_{NP}$ nânâ auâss]

This movement seems similar to the English process of Heavy-NP Shift (Ross 1967), which removes a prosodically heavy NP from its canonical position and places it at the end of the sentence, as in (14).

(14) a. Normal NP in canonical object position:

Bob played [$_{NP}$ the harmonica] with skill.

b. Heavy NP moved to sentence-final position:

Bob played [$_{NP}$ ___] with skill [$_{NP}$ the harmonica he found in the barn].

Let us assume that Heavy Shift is indeed the reason why the focused NP in (13) does not occupy the expected sentence-initial position.[9] Notice that the application of Heavy Shift causes *muk"* to become stranded before the verb. This observation suggests a new way of looking at the pre-verbal dislocation process. To this point, when describing how the process affects quantifiers, demonstratives, prepositions, and degree modifiers, I have tacitly assumed that the function word is raised to the pre-VP position, as in (15).

(15) Function word **Verb** [$_{XP}$ ~~Function word~~ [$_{XP}$ Lexical phrase]]

However, the evidence from focused phrases suggests that the process actually occurs in exactly the opposite way: rather than moving the function word into the pre-verbal position, it instead moves the lexical XP out of the pre-verbal position by Heavy Shift, as in (16).[10]

(16) [$_{XP}$ Function word [$_{XP}$ ~~Lexical phrase~~]] **Verb** [$_{XP}$ Lexical phrase]

[9]Note that the postposed NP *nânâ auâss* contains two disyllabic words, which could plausibly make it prosodically heavy enough to undergo Heavy Shift. This is merely speculation, however, as no detailed account of Innu-aimun prosodic structure currently exists.

[10]Phil Branigan (p.c.) suggests that the process may in fact be best characterized as DISCONTINUOUS SPELL-OUT (Radford 2004: 193–195 and references therein) rather than Heavy Shift. Under a discontinuous spell-out analysis, the entire XP would originate in post-verbal position and would then move into pre-verbal position. However, only the function word would actually be spelled out in pre-verbal position; the lexical phrase would still be spelled out post-verbally. This analysis is theoretically preferable to Heavy Shift as it does not involve rightward movement, but since it is somewhat more complicated to explain and represent, I have framed the discussion in terms of Heavy Shift. Both analyses capture the same basic insight.

The analysis in (16) is strongly motivated for focused phrases, as there is an independent reason to assume that such phrases are underlyingly sentence-initial. Since this analysis is required for focused phrases, it is most economical to assume that all other examples of the pre-verbal dislocation process are actually due to Heavy Shift as well.[11] If this is the case, then focused phrases have given us a valuable insight into the nature of this quite common feature of Innu-aimun syntax.[12]

Before concluding the discussion of *muk^{u}*, it should be noted that *muk^{u}* may act not only as a focus particle, but also as an adversative coordinator meaning 'but' (§8.4). From a cross-linguistic perspective, it is unsurprising that *muk^{u}* serves both of these functions. As noted by König (1991: 110–111), it is in fact quite common for restrictive focus particles to serve as adversative conjunctions as well, as is the case for English *but*, Dutch *maar*, and Modern Hebrew *ax*, among others.

RESTRICTIVE *MESHEKÛT* 'MOSTLY' AND *PISSIK^{U}* 'NOTHING BUT.' The restrictive focus particles *meshekût* and *pissik^{u}* are exemplified in (17).

(17) a. ***Meshekût*** [$_{NP}$ *ishkueuat*] *tâuat* *kânîminânût.*
mostly [$_{NP}$ woman.3P] be.3P where.there.is.dancing
'Mostly women were at the dance.' (WO 1-1-31)

[11] In order to firmly conclude that Heavy Shift is indeed the motivator of the pre-verbal dislocation process, however, much additional research is required. Specifically, more information is needed regarding the range of constituents affected by the process, the range of possible syntactic outcomes, and the exact nature of the relevant prosodic constraints.

[12] Note that Reinholtz (1999) offers a different explanation of the process in Cree. However, in Cree, the process affects a narrower range of items than in Innu-aimun. For example, it cannot separate a locative demonstrative from the locative noun it accompanies (Reinholtz 1999: 215–216), unlike in Innu-aimun, where such separation quite commonly occurs (§6.2.2). It may therefore be appropriate to regard the process as having a somewhat different motivation in Innu-aimun.

b. ***Pissikᵘ*** [NP *kâshîuâshinû*] *mîtshû.*
nothing.but [NP sugar.3′] eat.3>3′
'He was eating just plain sugar.' (WO 4-4-46)

Note that *meshekût* and *pissikᵘ* are more semantically specific than *mukᵘ*. While the meaning of *mukᵘ* is purely that of restrictive focus, *meshekût* and *pissikᵘ* qualify the restriction more precisely, as summarized in (18).

(18) a. Pure restriction: *mukᵘ* 'only'

b. Qualified restriction:

(i) *meshekût* 'mostly' (i.e. 'almost only')

(ii) *pissikᵘ* 'nothing but' (i.e. 'absolutely only')

This semantic difference correlates with a grammatical distinction. It appears that *mukᵘ* and *meshekût/pissikᵘ* belong to separate syntactic classes, as indicated by the fact that they are not mutually exclusive—on the contrary, *mukᵘ* is often accompanied by *meshekût* or *pissikᵘ*, as in (19).

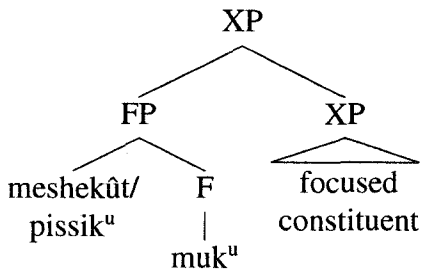
(19) a. ***Meshekût mukᵘ*** [NP *nâpeuat*] *tâuat.*
mostly only [NP man.3P] be.3P
'It's mostly just men there.' (WO 4-4-46)

b. ***Pissikᵘ mukᵘ*** [NP *kâshîuâshinû*] *mîtshû.*
nothing.but only [NP sugar.3′] eat.3>3′
'He's eating nothing but just plain sugar.' (WO 4-1-66)

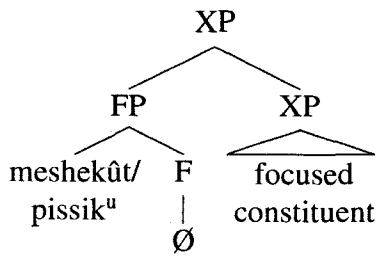
I will distinguish between these two classes by referring to *mukᵘ* as a PRIMARY focus particle and *meshekût* and *pissikᵘ* as SECONDARY focus particles. These labels reflect the fact that *mukᵘ* is semantically simpler and occurs much more frequently than *meshekût* and

pissik^{u}.[13] Syntactically, we may represent *meshekût* and *pissik*^{u} as adjoining to *muk*^{u}, as shown in (20a). When *meshekût* and *pissik*^{u} occur alone, as in (17) above, we may assume that they accompany a null F head, as shown in (20b).

(20) a.



b.



In summary, this section has described three restrictive focus particles: *muk*^{u} 'only, just,' *meshekût* 'mostly,' and *pissik*^{u} 'nothing but.' *Muk*^{u} was analyzed as a primary focus particle that occupies the head F position while *meshekût* and *pissik*^{u} were analyzed as secondary focus particles that adjoin to F and add additional detail to its meaning.

8.1.2. ADDITIVE FOCUS PARTICLES. As described above, additive focus particles are those such as *too* and *even*, as exemplified in (21). In these examples, both *too* and *even* serve to add Mary to a presupposed set of house-buying people.

(21) a. MARY bought a house **too**.

b. **Even** MARY bought a house.

Although they are both additive, *too* and *even* are not identical. In the terminology of König (1991), *too* expresses SIMPLE INCLUSION while *even* expresses SCALAR INCLUSION.

[13]While *meshekût* and *pissik*^{u} seem much like degree modifiers, they differ from typical degree modifiers in that their distribution is highly restricted, as they may modify only *muk*^{u}. For this reason, as well as their ability to occur alone as in (17), I refer to them as a type of focus particle rather than as degree modifiers.

The distinction is evident in (21). In (21a), *too* simply adds Mary to the set of house-buying people. In (21b), *even* not only serves this additive function, but also implies that among the people under consideration, Mary is the least likely to have bought a house.

This distinction is relevant in Innu-aimun, which has the additive focus particles *iâ(pi)t* 'too, also, even' and *kie* 'too, also.' The two particles are semantically and syntactically distinct. Semantically, *iâ(pi)t* may express either simple or scalar inclusion while *kie* expresses only simple inclusion. Syntactically, *iâ(pi)t* is a primary focus particle while *kie* is a secondary focus particle. This section examines the two additive focus particles in turn.

ADDITIVE *IÂ(PI)T* 'ALSO, EVEN.' The particle *iâ(pi)t* occurs as both *iâpit* and *iât*. Originally, these two forms were dialectal variants (Marguerite MacKenzie, p.c.). However, my consultants use both forms interchangeably, as indicated in (22).

(22) ***Iâpit/iât*** [PP *anite* *akâmît*] *tshika* *minâten.*
even/also [PP the.LOC other.side] 2.FUT smell.2>3
'**Even** on the other side (of the river), you can smell it.'
'You can smell it on the other side (of the river) **too**.' (WO 3-2-2)

While my consultants do use both variants, *iât* is by far the more frequent of the two. I will therefore refer to the particle as *iât* in the remainder of this section.

As the translations in (22) indicate, *iât* may express either scalar or simple inclusion. Cross-linguistically, this situation is quite common. As König (1991: 68) notes, many languages have an unspecific additive particle that may serve both scalar and non-scalar functions.[14] The context normally determines which reading is appropriate.

[14]One such example, noted by König (1991), is German *auch*.

Syntactically, *iât* behaves like *muk*^{u} 'only, just.' It may either precede the focused constituent, as in (23), or follow it, as in (24).

(23) a. ***Iât*** [$_{NP}$ *Nâpâien*] *uniâkanû.*
even/also [$_{NP}$ Raphael] be.lost.3S
'Even Raphael got lost.' / 'Raphael got lost too.' (WO 3-1-5)

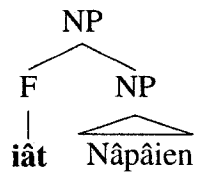
b. ***Iât*** [$_{PP}$ *anite* *shek*^{u} *nipeunit*] *uînâkuan.*
even/also [$_{PP}$ the.LOC under bed.LOC] be.dirty.3S
'Even under the bed, it's dirty.' / 'It's dirty under the bed too.' (WO 4-5-21)

(24) a. [$_{NP}$ *Shûshep*] ***iât*** *apû* *minuâtâk.*
[$_{NP}$ Joseph] even/also NEG like.CONJ.3>3′
'Even Joseph doesn't like it.' / 'Joseph doesn't like it either.' (WO 4-1-36)

b. [$_{S}$ *Tshekuânnû*] ***iât*** *essîshuet?*
[$_{S}$ what.is.it] even/also IC.say.CONJ.3S
'What else did she say?' (WO 1-9-38)

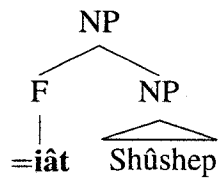
We may therefore analyze *iât*, like *muk*^{u}, as having both freestanding and enclitic variants. This analysis is illustrated in (25).[15]

(25) a. Freestanding *iât* (from (23a))



OUTPUT: **iât** Nâpâien

b. Enclitic *=iât* (from (24a))



OUTPUT: Shûshep**=iât**

[15]I assume here that *iât* is a primary focus particle, as justified in the discussion of *kie* that follows.

It should be noted that *iât* may also act as a subordinator meaning 'even if/even though' and as an adverbial conjunction meaning 'nevertheless' (§8.4). Cross-linguistically, both of these correspondences are common (König 1991: 2).[16]

ADDITIVE *KIE* 'TOO.' *Kie* denotes only simple inclusion ('too' or 'also') and is therefore more semantically specific than *iât*. *Kie* is frequently used to focus personal pronouns, as in (26).[17]

(26) a. *Nikushpinân ute* ***kie*** [$_{NP}$ *nînân*].
1.go.inland.1P this.LOC too [$_{NP}$ 1P]
'We, too, have gone camping here.' (WO 4-1-24)

b. *Ekute tshe tshîueiân* ***kie*** [$_{NP}$ *nîn*].
it.LOC.is IC.FUT return.CONJ.1S too [$_{NP}$ 1S]
'It is then that I, too, will go home.' (LITP 2-1-101)

c. *"Nimûshûm," itik^{u}, "mîtshishû* ***kie*** [$_{NP}$ *tshîn*]*!"*
1.grandfather say.3′>3 eat.IMP.2S too [$_{NP}$ 2S]
"Grandfather," he said to him, "you eat too!" (LITP 4-3-091)

For most speakers, *kie* obligatorily precedes the focused constituent, as indicated in (27). We may therefore assume that *kie*, unlike *iât*, has only a freestanding form and may not occur as an enclitic.

[16]For example, the English scalar additive particle *even* is contained within the subordinators *even if* and *even though* as well as the adverbial conjunction *even so*.

[17]Note that in the three examples in (26), the focal phrase is clause-final. This contradicts the generalization that Innu-aimun focal phrases must be clause-initial, as proposed by Branigan and MacKenzie (2001) and discussed in Section 8.1.1 above. Since the contradictory examples all involve focused pronouns, it seems likely that the pronoun is somehow responsible for the exceptional behaviour of these phrases.

(27) 'Joseph also doesn't like it.' (WO 4-1-36)

a. ***Kie*** [NP *Shûshep*] *apû* *minuâtâk.*
too [NP Joseph] NEG like.CONJ.3>3′

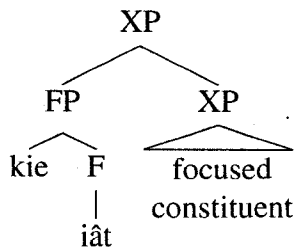
b. *[NP *Shûshep*] ***kie*** *apû* *minuâtâk.*
[NP Joseph] too NEG like.CONJ.3>3′

Just as the restrictive focus particles *meshekût* 'mostly' and *pissikᵘ* 'nothing but' often accompany *mukᵘ* (§8.1.1), so too may *kie* accompany *iât*, as in (28).

(28) ***Kie*** ***iât*** [NP *Shûshep*] *apû* *minuâtât.*
too even/also [NP Joseph] NEG like.CONJ.3>3′
'Even Joseph, too, doesn't like her.' (WO 3-3-34)

I therefore propose that *kie*, like *meshekût* and *pissikᵘ*, is a secondary focus particle that adjoins to the primary focus particle *iât*. This analysis, illustrated in (29), explains why *kie* may accompany *iât*. Furthermore, it captures the fact that *kie*, like *meshekût* and *pissikᵘ*, is more semantically specific than the primary focus particle it accompanies.[18]

(29)



Note that *kie* also acts as a coordinator meaning 'and' (§8.4). From a cross-linguistic perspective, this is unsurprising, as in many languages, simple additive focus particles also serve as coordinating conjunctions (König 1991: 65).[19]

[18]As with *mukᵘ*, we may assume that when *kie* occurs without *iât*, as in (26)–(27), it adjoins to a null F.
[19]Examples include Latin *et(iam)*, Greek *καί*, and Russian *i* (König 1991).

8.1.3. EMPHATIC FOCUS PARTICLES. Innu-aimun has the emphatic focus particles *uîn*, *uetshît*, and *mâ*. This section describes each particle in turn.

EMPHATIC *UÎN*. Aside from its function as a focus particle, *uîn* also acts as a third-person singular personal pronoun. As shown in Section 3.1, overt personal pronouns are used only for emphatic purposes, since the rich system of person and number marking on nouns and verbs makes them grammatically redundant. An example of the pronominal use of *uîn* is provided in (30a). In this function, *uîn* is no different from any other personal pronoun, as may be seen by comparing it with the use of first-person singular *nîn* in (30b).[20]

(30) a. *Namaieunîtshe nenû **uîn** ûtapannû.*
it.is.not.DUB.3′S that.3′S 3S 3.car.3′S
'That's probably not HIS car.' (WO 4-4-55)

b. *Eukuanitshe **nîn** nutâpân.*
it.is.DUB.3S 1S 1.car
'That's probably MY car.' (WO 4-7-1)

Plausibly as an extension of this emphatic use, *uîn* may also occur along with an overt NP:

(31) a. *Nikuteu ne **uîn** ishkueu.*
cut.wood.3>3′ that EMPH woman
'The WOMAN was getting the wood.' (LITP 1-6-004)

b. *Ek" **uîn** ishkueu mâuât itenimeu tshetshî nipâiânitî innua.*
then EMPH woman NEG think.3>3′ IRREAL kill.CONJ.3′>3″ Innu.3′
'But the WOMAN did not think that the Innu had killed him.' (LITP 1-9-003)

[20]Blain (1995) argues that *wiya*, the Plains Cree cognate of *uîn*, has lost its pronominal status and functions exclusively as an emphatic particle. Examples such as (30) suggest that this is not the case in Innu-aimun.

In such examples, *uîn* seems similar to English emphatic reflexives such as *herself* in *Mary herself told me.* However, while emphatic *herself* still behaves much like a pronoun,[21] emphatic *uîn* seems to have become a more general marker of emphasis. This is indicated by the fact that *uîn* may accompany categories such as adverbs, negators, and locative nouns, as in (32).

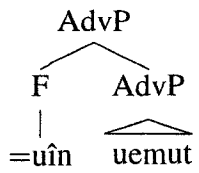
(32) a. [$_{AdvP}$ *Uemut*] ***uîn*** *tshika uî* *pâpanû!*
[$_{AdvP}$ necessarily] EMPH 3.FUT VOLIT arrive.by.air.3S
'Surely he'll come!' (WO 3-6-30)

b. [$_{Neg}$ *Ekâ*] ***uîn*** *matuetitâuî* *pâtush* *mishta-ishpitenitâkuâkî!*
[$_{Neg}$ NEG] EMPH call.IMP.2>1 unless very-be.worth.it.CONJ.3S
'Don't call me unless it's really important!' (WO 1-2-38)

c. *Mâuât* [$_{NP}$ *mîtshuâpît*] ***uîn!***
NEG [$_{NP}$ house.LOC] EMPH
'Not in the house!' (WO 4-2-6)

In its use as an emphatic focus particle, *uîn* usually follows the constituent it emphasizes, as in (32). We may therefore assume that *uîn* has only an enclitic form, as shown in (33).

(33) Enclitic *uîn* (from (32a))



OUTPUT: uemut=uîn

[21] For example, *herself* must agree with an antecedent NP.

There are certain examples, however, in which *uîn* precedes the focused constituent rather than following it, as in (31b), partially repeated in (34).

(34) *Ekᵘ* ***uîn*** [NP *ishkueu*] *mâuât itenimeu...*
then EMPH [NP woman] NEG think.3>3′...
'But the WOMAN did not think...' (LITP 1-9-003)

This situation normally arises when the focused phrase is not in sentence-initial position. In (34), for example, the focused phrase is preceded by the conjunction *ekᵘ*. In such examples, we may analyze *uîn* as encliticizing onto the preceding constituent, as in (35).

(35) Ekᵘ=**uîn** [NP ~~=uîn~~ [NP ishkueu]] ...

When the focused constituent is sentence-initial, as in (32), this option is not available, since there is no preceding constituent for *uîn* to encliticize onto. Analyzing *uîn* as an enclitic that underlyingly precedes the focused XP therefore provides an explanation for both its post-focus and pre-focus occurrences. The behaviour of *uîn* is summarized in (36).

(36) a. Sentence-initial *uîn* encliticizes onto following constituent

[XP ~~=uîn~~ [XP focused phrase]]=**uîn**

b. Non-sentence-initial *uîn* encliticizes onto preceding word

Word=**uîn** [XP ~~=uîn~~ [XP focused phrase]]

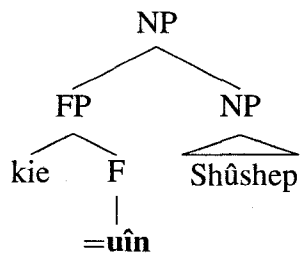
To this point, I have assumed that *uîn* is a primary focus particle. As evidence that this is indeed the case, consider that *uîn*, like *iât*, may be accompanied by the secondary focus particle *kie* 'too, also,' as shown in (37).

(37) a. ***Kie uîn*** [NP *Nûsh*] *apû* *tshissenitâk* *tshekuânnû* *tshipâ*
too EMPH [NP Rose] NEG know.CONJ.3>3′ something.3′S 3.should
tûtam^{u}.
do.3>3′
'Even Rose doesn't know what to do.' (WO 1-5-19)

b. ***Kie uîn*** [NP *Shûshep*] *apû* *minuâtât.*
too EMPH [NP Joseph] NEG like.CONJ.3>3′
'Joseph doesn't like her, either.' (WO 4-5-10)

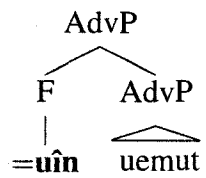
Note that in such examples, *uîn* precedes the focused constituent rather than following it. This is predicted by the enclitic analysis, since the preceding *kie* provides a host onto which *uîn* may encliticize. The diagrams in (38) compare the behaviour of *uîn* when it occurs with and without *kie*. As shown, *uîn* may be seen as occupying the same underlying position in both cases despite the surface word order differences.

(38) a. *=uîn* after *kie* (from (37b))



OUTPUT: kie=**uîn** Shûshep

b. Lone *=uîn* (from (32a))



OUTPUT: uemut=**uîn**

In summary, *uîn* is an emphatic focus particle that is related to the third-person pronoun *uîn*. Syntactically, emphatic *uîn* is a primary focus particle and may be accompanied by the secondary focus particle *kie*. As an enclitic, *uîn* attaches to the preceding word if one is present; if not, it attaches to the following focused constituent.

EMPHATIC *UETSHÎT*. The focus particle *uetshît* 'him/herself' occurs only with nominals (Hasler 2006: 22), as in (39).

(39) a. ***Uetshît*** [$_{NP}$ *nûtshimâm*] *takushinîpan.*
self [$_{NP}$ 1.boss] come.PRET.3S
'My boss himself is coming.' (Hasler 2006: 20)

b. [$_{NP}$ *Nîn*] ***uetshît*** *nitûtetî.*
[$_{NP}$ 1S] self do.PRET.3>3′
'I did it myself.' (Hasler 2006: 20)

From these examples, it appears that *uetshît* may either precede or follow the focused NP. However, due to insufficient data, a more detailed description is not currently possible.

EMPHATIC *MÂ*. At first glance, the syntax of *mâ* seems difficult to describe. This perception arises because *mâ* serves several functions. Aside from its use as an emphatic focus particle, as discussed in this section, *mâ* also serves as a question particle (§8.2) and an interjection (§8.5). Once these additional uses have been filtered out, the syntax of emphatic *mâ* becomes quite clear. Emphatic *mâ* normally follows the first word of the sentence, as in (40).

(40) a. [$_{VP}$ *Uiâshtet*] ***mâ,*** *nete* *ût* *uâshtenû.*
[$_{VP}$ IC.be.light.CONJ.3S] EMPH that.LOC from be.light.3′
'There was light, there was light from over there.' (LITP 2-6-009)

b. [$_{AdvP}$ *Tshek*] ***mâ*** *apû* *mâtenimât* *nenua* *Atshena* *tshe*
[$_{AdvP}$ then] EMPH NEG be.aware.CONJ.3>3′ that.3′ Giant.3′ IC.FUT
takushinnitî.
arrive.CONJ.3′
'At that moment he wasn't aware that the Giant would arrive.' (LITP 3-3-005)

c. [$_{AdvP}$ *Mînuât*] ***mâ*** *ekue itât,* ...
[$_{AdvP}$ again] EMPH and.then say.CONJ.3>3′
'And again she said of him, ...' (LITP 4-5-041)

Mâ is quite frequently found following an imperative verb, as in (41).

(41) a. *"*[$_{VP}$ *Mîtshishû*] ***mâ!"*** *iteu.*
[$_{VP}$ eat.IMP.2S] EMPH say.3>3′
'"Eat!" he said.' (LITP 4-1-041)

b. *Âie,* [$_{VP}$ *tshîtûtetâu*] ***mâ*** *tshe minuenitamâkᵘ mâmû*
dear [$_{VP}$ go.out.IMP.21P] EMPH IC.FUT be.happy.CONJ.21P together
anite kânîminânût.
the.LOC where.there.is.dancing
'My dear, let's go out and be happy together in a dance club.' (WO 2-5-44)

Mâ also commonly occurs following a clefting word, as in (42).

(42) [$_{S}$ *Eukuannû*] ***mâ*** *tsheshuâikut.*
[$_{S}$ it.is.3′] EMPH IC.make.angry.CONJ.3′>3
'This is what made him angry.' (LITP 4-5-039)

The second-position requirement on *mâ* seems quite strict. *Mâ* follows the first word of the sentence even when this position is contained within an NP, as in (43).

(43) a. [$_{NP}$ *Anite* ***mâ*** *utshipishkuâmît*] *ekute epit.*
[$_{NP}$ the.LOC EMPH 3.doorway.LOC] it.LOC.is IC.sit.CONJ.3S
'There by his doorway is where he sat.' (LITP 1-6-036)

b. [$_{NP}$ *Nenû* ***mâ*** *utapuânnû*], *eukuannû uet âkûshimât.*
[$_{NP}$ that.3′ EMPH roasting.stick.3′] it.is.3′ IC.from hide.CONJ.3>3′
'The roasting stick, that's what he was hiding behind him.' (LITP 3-3-039)

In fact, *mâ* may even occur after a preverb, as in (44).

(44) *"Tshipâ* **mâ** *an nishtushpuâu tshinâpem mutî,"* *iteu.*
2.would EMPH that taste.2>3 2.man eat.CONJ.2>3 say.3>3′
'"You would be able to taste your man if you ate him," he said.' (LITP 4-1-048)

From this second-position requirement, we may assume that *mâ*, like *uîn*, is an enclitic. The diagram in (45) illustrates how the enclitic analysis accounts for the position of *mâ* in (43b), assuming that *mâ*, like other focus particles, underlyingly precedes the focused XP.

(45) $[_{NP}$ ~~=mâ~~ $[_{NP}$ nenû=**mâ** utapuânnû]]

It is unclear whether the other enclitic focus particles (*muk*^{u}, *iât*, and *uîn*) share with *mâ* the ability to intervene within an NP or between a preverb and the verb. Since the other focus particles do not occur as frequently as *mâ*, the relevant situations rarely arise.

Thus far, the meaning of *mâ* has not been discussed. Unlike focus particles such as *muk*^{u} 'but' and *iât* 'too, even,' *mâ* does not appear to carry lexical meaning, since speakers normally provide exactly the same translation for examples with and without *mâ*, as in (46).

(46) 'Where is it that you came from?' (WO 4-4-47)

a. *Tânite* *uet* *itûtein?*
what.LOC.is.it IC.from go.CONJ.2S

b. *Tânite* ***mâ*** *uet* *itûtein?*
what.LOC.is.it EMPH IC.from go.CONJ.2S

Rather, *mâ* seems to serve a purely pragmatic function. Comparing the two examples in (46), the consultant remarked that the example with *mâ* sounds "almost like you're mad

at someone." It is unlikely that *mâ* signifies anger in particular, since it also occurs in emotionally positive examples such as (41b) above. Perhaps, in a somewhat more general sense, *mâ* indicates a type of emphasis that carries some sort of emotional significance. Beyond this speculation, however, little may be said about the meaning of *mâ* at this time.

8.1.4. OTHER FOCUS PARTICLES. Innu-aimun also has the focus particles *enuet* 'at least,' *mîshkut* 'instead,' *ekush* 'instead,' and *nuâsh* 'as much as, up to,' which do not clearly fit into the major classes of additive, restrictive, or emphatic focus particles.[22]

Regarding *enuet* 'at least,' note that its English equivalent *at least* has two distinct senses, which we may refer to as QUANTITATIVE and EVALUATIVE. The difference between these two meanings is illustrated in (47).

(47) Meanings of *at least*

a. QUANTITATIVE: He has **at least** one friend. (He may have more.)

b. EVALUATIVE: **At least** he has one friend. (Some people don't have any.)

Enuet, exemplified in (48), corresponds with the evaluative sense of *at least*.

(48) a. [$_{VP}$ *Niminupanin*] ***enuet.***
[$_{VP}$ 1.be.well.1S] at.least
I'm doing OK, at least. (WO 1-13-10)

b. ***Enuet*** [$_{NegP}$ *apû* *tût* *tshimuâk*].
at.least [$_{NegP}$ NEG PRET rain.3S]
'At least it didn't rain.' (WO 3-1-28)

[22]The English correlates of these words are not extensively discussed in the syntactic literature. König (1991) considers *at least* to be a focus particle, while Sauerland (2004) refers to *instead* as a focus particle, following a suggestion by Heim (1997).

Enuet may precede or follow the focused constituent, as illustrated by the comparable examples in (49).

(49) a. "[$_{VP}$ *Nika natuâpamâu*] ***enuet,"*** *iteu.*
[$_{VP}$ 1.FUT go.see.1>3] at.least say.3>3′
'"At the very least I will go see," he said.' (LITP 3-3-034)

b. *Tshessenimât ekâ uâ nipâikut,* ***enuet*** [$_{VP}$ *tshika pîtutetishâueu*].
IC.know.CONJ.3>3′ NEG VOLIT kill.CONJ.3′>3 at.least [$_{VP}$ 3.FUT invite.in.3.>3′]
'When she knew he wasn't going to kill her, she could at least invite him inside.' (LITP 3-4-009)

The focus particles *mîshkut* and *ekush* both mean 'instead.' *Mîshkut* is exemplified in (50).

(50) [$_{NP}$ *Tshîn*] ***mîshkut*** *tshika uîtamuâu.*
[$_{NP}$ you] instead 2.FUT tell.2>3
'You, instead, will tell him.' (Hasler 2006: 19)

This example was elicited from a speaker of the Betsiamites dialect by José Mailhot. Among my consultants from Sheshatshiu, however, *mîshkut* does not seem to act as a focus particle. Rather, it appears to serve only as an adverb meaning 'in return, in exchange.' For these speakers, the meaning of 'instead' is expressed by *ekush*, as in (51).

(51) [$_{NP}$ *Etuet*] *aimiâtâu* ***ekush.***
[$_{NP}$ Edward] talk.to.IMP.21P>3 instead
'Let's talk to Edward instead.' (WO 1-7-41)

Outside of Sheshatshiu, *ekush* is found only in the Uashau dialect of Innu-aimun and may possibly be a borrowing from Cree (José Mailhot, Marguerite MacKenzie, p.c.).[23]

The focus particle *nuâsh* 'as much as, up to' is exemplified in (52).[24]

(52) *Nimînikaun tshetshî meshtinamân* ***nuâsh*** [NP *$45*].
1.be.given.1S IRREAL use.up.CONJ.1S as.much.as [NP $45]
'I am allowed to spend as much as $45.' (Hasler 2006: 20)

Few examples of *mîshkut*, *ekush*, and *nuâsh* are available, so little can be said about their syntax.

8.1.5. CONCLUSION—FOCUS PARTICLES. Although the class of focus particles is small, it is nevertheless quite complex. As shown by the preceding discussion, we can make progress towards understanding the complexity of focus particles by analyzing them along three independent dimensions: semantic, syntactic, and phonological. Semantically, focus particles may be classified as restrictive, additive, or emphatic, as summarized in (53).

(53) Semantic classification of focus particles

a. Restrictive: *muk*^{u} 'only, just,' *meshekût* 'mostly,' *pissik*^{u} 'nothing but'

b. Additive: *iâ(pi)t* 'too, also, even,' *kie* 'too, also'

c. Emphatic: *uîn*, *uetshît*, *mâ*

d. (Other: *enuet* 'at least,' *mîshkut* 'instead,' *ekush* 'instead,' *nuâsh* 'as much as')

[23]Note that *ekush* also functions as an interjection meaning 'it doesn't matter' (§8.5).

[24]*Nuâsh* also serves as a locative preposition meaning 'as far as, up to' (§6.3) and a subordinator meaning 'until' (§8.4.4).

Syntactically, we may distinguish between primary and secondary focus particles as summarized in (54). Secondary focus particles accompany and modify primary focus particles.

(54) Syntactic classification of focus particles

a. Primary: *muk*^{u}, *iâ(pi)t*, *uîn*

b. Secondary: *meshekût*, *pissik*^{u}, *kie*

c. (Unknown: *uetshît*, *mâ*, *enuet*, *mîshkut*, *ekush*, *nuâsh*)[25]

Phonologically, we may distinguish between focus particles that behave as enclitics, those that behave as freestanding words, and those that behave as both, as summarized in (55).

(55) Phonological classification of focus particles

a. Enclitic: *uîn*, *mâ*

b. Freestanding: *kie*

c. Enclitic or freestanding: *muk*^{u}, *iât*

d. (Unknown: *iâpit*,[26] *meshekût*, *pissik*^{u}, *uetshît*, *enuet*, *mîshkut*, *ekush*, *nuâsh*)

Although these three dimensions do not provide a complete picture of the grammar of focus particles, they are nevertheless a useful means for understanding the basic properties that distinguish them.

[25]It is possible to guess at the classification of these particles, but they are listed as "unknown" here because the available relevant data is not conclusive.

[26]Although *iâpit* and *iât* are variants of the same word, they are listed separately in (55) because *iât* is monosyllabic while *iâpit* is disyllabic. It is possible that this difference in phonological size may correspond with a difference in phonological behaviour.

8.2. QUESTION PARTICLES. In this thesis, the term "question particle" refers to particles that form yes-no questions. Items such as the interrogative adjective *tshekᵘ* 'what sort' and the interrogative adverb *tân* 'how' are therefore not question particles, nor are interrogative tags such as *tshiâ* 'isn't that so?', which is classified as an interjection in this thesis (§8.5). Innu-aimun has two question particles: *â* and *mâ*.

8.2.1. QUESTION PARTICLE *Â*. In Innu-aimun, yes-no questions are normally formed by adding the enclitic *â* to the first word in the corresponding declarative sentence (Clarke 1982). Some canonical examples of *â* are provided in (56). *Â* is usually accompanied by a rise in intonation, which is then maintained until the end of the question.

(56) a. *Utshimâutshenitâkushû* **â** *an?*
act.like.chief.3S QST that
'Does he act like a chief?' (LITP 3-2-053)

b. *Ekute* **â** *anite innîuîpan?*
it.LOC.is QST the.LOC be.born.PRET.3S
'Is that where he was born?' (WO 4-2-23)

c. *Etuet* **â** *tshuâpamâtâu?*
Edward QST 2.see.PRET.2P>3
'Did you (pl.) see Edward?' (WO 4-2-16)

d. *Pinip* **â** *nenua utishkuema?*
Philip QST that.3′ 3.wife.3′
'Is that Philip's wife?' (WO 4-2-13)

As Clarke (1982) notes, *â* does not simply form a yes-no question—it also identifies the focus of that question. According to Clarke, the unmarked order is for *â* to encliticize onto a sentence-initial verb, as in (57).

(57) *Tshika pûshû **â** uâpannitî?*
3.FUT leave.3S QST be.daylight.CONJ.3'S
'Will he be leaving tomorrow?' (Clarke 1982: 126)

If some other element occupies initial position and serves as a host for *â*, this element must be understood as the focus of the question, as in (58).

(58) *Uâpannitî **â** tshika pûshû?*
be.daylight.CONJ.3'S QST 3.FUT leave.3S
'Is it TOMORROW that he will be leaving?' (Clarke 1982: 126)

It seems, then, that *â* is actually a focusing enclitic, just like emphatic *uîn* or *mâ*. This property is shared with the Cree question particle *nâ*, as analyzed by Reinholtz (2002).

Since *â* encliticizes onto a focused constituent, and since Innu-aimun requires focused constituents to occupy sentence-initial position (Branigan and MacKenzie 2001), we would expect to find that *â* always follows the first constituent in the sentence.[27] For the most part, this is clearly the case, as in (56)–(58) above. However, certain apparent exceptions do occur. For example, when a sentence begins with an NP, *â* is often placed not in second position, but rather in third position, as in (59).

(59) a. *Pinip itûtepan **â** atâuitshuâpît?*
Philip go.PRET.3S QST store.LOC
'Did Philip go to the store?' (WO 2-3-23)

b. *Nûsh tâu **â** anite atâuitshuâpît?*
Rose be.3S QST the.LOC store.LOC
'Is Rose in the store?' (WO 4-4-50)

[27]I am being intentionally vague regarding the nature of this constituent—whether it is, for example, the first grammatical word, the first grammatical phrase, the first prosodic word, the first prosodic phrase, and so on. Further research is required in order to clarify this issue. (See footnote 28 for a tentative suggestion.)

c. *Shânut uâpamepan **â** Etueta?*
Charlotte see.PRET.3>3′ QST Edward.3′
'Did Charlotte see Edward?' (WO 4-2-17)

In such examples, it seems likely that the initial NP is topicalized. Topicalization apparently moves the NP outside of the domain in which *â* is placed, as indicated in (60).

(60) [$_{\text{Topic}}$ *Pinip*] [$_{\text{S}}$ *itûtepan **â** atâuitshuâpît*]?
What about Philip, did he go to the store?

As additional evidence that sentence-initial NPs may be outside the domain of *â*-placement, consider that for certain speakers, examples in which a sentence-initial NP is followed by *â* are ungrammatical, as shown in (61c–d).

(61) 'Does Marie already have a car?' (WO 1-11-23)

a. [$_{\text{AdvP}}$ ***Shâsh***] ***â*** *kanauenitam" Mânî utâpânnû?*
[$_{\text{AdvP}}$ already] QST possess.3>3′ Marie car.3′S

b. [$_{\text{VP}}$ ***Kanauenitam"***] ***â*** *shâsh Mânî utâpânnû?*

c. *[$_{\text{NP}}$ ***Mânî***] ***â*** *shâsh kanauenitam" utâpânnû?*

d. *[$_{\text{NP}}$ ***Utâpânnû***] ***â*** *shâsh kanauenitam" Mânî?*

In general, then, it appears that sentence-initial NPs give rise to seemingly exceptional grammatical patterns in yes-no questions, likely as a result of their movement into a topic position on the left periphery of the clause.

Another apparent exception arises in echo questions. In such questions, *â* may occur sentence-finally, as in (62).

(62) *Anite* *kâmishkûtîtâtshepanit* *takuan* ***â?***
the.LOC refrigerator.LOC be.3S QST
'It's in the fridge?' (WO 2-2-30)

As an echo question, (62) essentially means "it's in the fridge, is that what you're telling me?" The entire sentence *anite kâmishkûtîtâtshepanit takuan* 'it's in the fridge' is therefore the focus of the question. In (62), then, *â* follows the focused constituent as expected—this constituent is simply a larger grammatical unit than normal.[28]

8.2.2. QUESTION PARTICLE *MÂ*. As an alternative to *â*, yes-no questions may be formed by placing *mâ* at the beginning of the sentence, as in (63).

(63) a. ***Mâ*** *tshuî* *nâtshishkuâu* *nikâuî?*
QST 2.VOLIT meet.2>3 1.mother
'Do you want to meet my mother?' (WO 1-10-28)

b. ***Mâ*** *tshissenimâu* *Shânut* *tshetshî* *uâpamât* *Etueta?*
QST know.2>3 Charlotte IRREAL see.CONJ.3>3′ Edward.3′
'Do you know if Charlotte saw Edward?' (WO 4-2-17)

Clarke (1982: 126) suggests that *mâ* is used when the speaker expects the answer to be "yes." In a sense, then, *mâ* is a marker of rhetorical questions. At least in certain cases, the contrast between *â* and *mâ* is clear, as in (64)–(65).

[28]The fact that *â* may follow an entire sentence, as in (62), or a phrase, as in (56), suggests that the constituent onto which *â* encliticizes is determined grammatically, not prosodically. In this respect, *â* differs from the Cree question particle *nâ*, which can only follow a single phonological word (Reinholtz 2002: 378).

(64) a. *Tshuâpamâtâu* ***â*** *Etuet?*
2.see.PRET.2P>3 QST Edward
'Did you see Edward?'
CONTEXT: The speaker is curious to know the answer. (WO 4-2-16)

b. ***Mâ*** *tshuâpamâuâu Etuet?*
QST 2.see.2P>3 Edward
'Did you see Edward?'
CONTEXT: Edward was acting up in class and ended up hurting himself; the teacher says (64b) to her students as a warning. (WO 4-2-16)

(65) a. *Shâsh* ***â*** *tshipâ tshî mîtshishun?*
already QST 2.would PERF eat.2S
'Have you eaten already?'
CONTEXT: The speaker wants to offer his guests some food and would like to know if they have already eaten. (WO 2-1-50)

b. ***Mâ*** *nîtâ tshimîtshishun?*
QST ever 2.eat.2S
'Have you eaten?'
CONTEXT: The speaker notices that the fridge is open, the kitchen is messy, and there are crumbs on the table. (WO 2-1-50)

Notice the use of the adverb *nîtâ* 'ever' in (65b). *Mâ* and *nîtâ* often co-occur in this way. For some speakers, a question beginning with *mâ nîtâ* is predictably translated using 'have you ever...,' as in (66).

(66) ***Mâ*** ***nîtâ*** *tshuâpâten Uâshât?*
QST ever 2.see.2>3 Sept-Iles
'Have you ever been to Sept-Iles?' (lit. 'seen Sept-Iles') (WO 4-1-38)

For other speakers, however, the 'ever' meaning of *nîtâ* has been lost in this context. For such speakers, *mâ nîtâ* questions are simply translated as 'have you...,' as in (67).

(67) ***Mâ nîtâ*** *tshimîtshishun?*
QST ever 2.eat.2S
'Have you eaten?' (not 'Have you ever eaten?') (WO 1-5-14)

Among my consultants, speakers of the Uashau dialect share this apparent semantic bleaching of *mâ nîtâ* while speakers of the Mashkuanu dialect retain the 'ever' meaning. The translation given in (67), for example, was provided by a Uashau speaker. A Mashkuanu speaker translated the same question as 'Have you ever eaten?'[29]

In addition to semantic bleaching, a further development seems to be affecting *mâ nîtâ*. In the Uashau dialect, *nîtâ* contains a short *i* rather than the long *î* found in the Eastern dialects (Marguerite MacKenzie, p.c.). Word-medial short vowels are susceptible to deletion, so *mâ nîtâ* is often pronounced as ['manta].[30] While some speakers recognize that ['manta] is equivalent to *mâ nîtâ*, others have lost this connection and regard ['manta] as a single, distinct word. For these speakers, it seems that *mâ nîtâ* has been grammaticalized into a new perfective question particle *mânitâ*.[31]

8.2.3. CONCLUSION—QUESTION PARTICLES. In summary, Innu-aimun has two well-established question particles: interrogative *â* and rhetorical *mâ*. An additional question particle, perfective *mânitâ*, seems to be a relatively recent innovation. Grammatically,

[29]My study's sample size is far too small, however, to conclude that this reflects a general dialect difference.

[30]This pronunciation is found among Mashkuanu speakers as well, evidently as a result of the dialect convergence that is ongoing in Sheshatshiu (Clarke 1987).

[31]It is not clear whether *mânitâ* retains the expected "yes" response associated with *mâ* or whether it has become a more general interrogative.

â encliticizes onto a sentence-initial focused constituent while *mâ* and *mânitâ* must themselves be sentence-initial.

8.3. NEGATORS. A negator is a particle that negates a clause or a phrase. Innu-aimun has several such particles: *apû*, *ekâ*, *atut*, *ama*, and *mâuât*.[32] The following description of Innu-aimun negators makes use of the well-known distinction between sentence negation and constituent negation (Jespersen 1917; Klima 1964; Horn 1989; McCawley 1991). Sentence negation has scope over an entire clause, as in the English example in (68b).

(68) a. AFFIRMATIVE: Mary bought a new car.

b. NEGATIVE: Mary did **not** buy a new car.

Constituent negation, on the other hand, has scope only over a single constituent. In (69b), for example, *not* negates only the adjectival phrase *very nice*.

(69) a. AFFIRMATIVE: John made some **very nice** remarks.

b. NEGATIVE: John made some **not very nice** remarks.

The following description first examines constituent negation in Innu-aimun (§8.3.1) and then turns to sentence negation (§8.3.2).

8.3.1. CONSTITUENT NEGATION. In Innu-aimun, the particle used in constituent negation varies depending on whether or not the negated constituent occurs within a sentence. Constituents that occur within a sentence are negated by *apû*, as shown in the ex-

[32]The clefting word *namaieu* 'it is not,' discussed in Chapter 4, also has negative semantic content, but is not, strictly speaking, a negator, as it is declinable and is therefore not a particle.

amples in (70). In (70a), *apû* negates the adverb *minekâsh*, while in (70b), *apû* negates the degree modifier *shûkᵘ*.

(70) a. ***Apû*** ***minekâsh*** *shâsh* *mâmâtuetâk.*
NEG long.time already moan.EVID.3S
'Not long after that, already he seemed to be moaning.' (LITP 1-6-054)

b. *Nuâpamâ* *Tshân* ***apû*** ***shûkᵘ*** *shâshîsh.*
1.see.PRET.1>3 John NEG very long.ago
'I saw John not very long ago.' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 119)

Constituents that serve as stand-alone utterances, on the other hand, are negated not by *apû*, but rather by *mâuât*, as in the examples in (71).

(71) a. ***Mâuât*** *nîn!*
NEG 1S
'Not me!' (WO 2-1-27, 3-1-6, 5-1-9)

b. ***Mâuât*** *nânitam.*
NEG always
'Not always.' (WO 4-2-59)

c. ***Mâuât*** *anite* *mîtshuâpît!*
NEG the.LOC house.LOC
'Not in the house!' (WO 2-2-6)

d. *Namesh* *mukᵘ* *nitishi-mîtshinân* — ***mâuât*** *atîkᵘ.*
fish only 1.thus-eat.1P NEG caribou
'We only ate fish—not caribou.' (WO 2-1-17)

In addition to its function in constituent negation, *mâuât* more frequently occurs as an interjection meaning 'no' (§8.5).

8.3.2. SENTENCE NEGATION. Innu-aimun has two major sentence negators, *apû* and *ekâ*, which are in complementary distribution conditioned by clause type. This section first examines the distribution of *apû* and *ekâ* and then describes their somewhat complicated interactions with tense morphology. The less frequently-occurring sentence negators *atut*, *ama*, and *mâuât* are then discussed.

DISTRIBUTION OF *APÛ* AND *EKÂ*. In general, the *apû* negator occurs in main clauses while the *ekâ* negator occurs in subordinate clauses (Clarke 1982; MacKenzie 1992), as illustrated in (72).

(72) a. ***Apû*** *tshissenitâk* *tshe* *itûtet.*
NEG know.CONJ.3>3′ IC.FUT go.CONJ.3S
'He doesn't know where he's going.' (WO 1-8-36)

b. *Papâmûteu* [CL *miâm* ***ekâ*** *tshissenitâk* *tshe* *itûtet*].
walk.around.3S [CL like NEG know.CONJ.3>3′ IC.FUT go.CONJ.3S]
'He's walking around like he doesn't know where he's going.' (WO 1-8-36)

The distribution of *apû* and *ekâ* is therefore parallel to the distribution of independent and conjunct verbal inflection. In general, independent inflection occurs in main clauses while conjunct inflection occurs in subordinate clauses.

From this simple account, one would expect *apû* to accompany independent-inflected verbs and *ekâ* to accompany conjunct-inflected verbs. However, this is not the case. As illustrated in (73), when a clause is negated by *apû*, the verb is obligatorily inflected in the conjunct order, even if it would otherwise carry independent inflection.

(73) a. Affirmative
(independent inflection)
Nipîtuân.
1.smoke.1S
'I smoke.'

b. Corresponding negative
(conjunct inflection)
Apû *pîtuâ**iân**.*
NEG smoke.CONJ.1S
'I don't smoke.'

In negative clauses, then, verbal order does not indicate clause type, since negative main clauses (*apû* + V_{conj}) and negative subordinate clauses (*ekâ* + V_{conj}) both contain conjunct forms. Rather, clause type is indicated by the negator itself. Verbs negated by *apû* have the same grammatical distribution as independent verb forms while verbs negated by *ekâ* have the same distribution as conjunct forms.

The precise nature of this distribution was not specified above. While it is generally true that main clauses are negated by *apû* and subordinate clauses are negated by *ekâ*, the *ekâ* negator occurs in certain other clause types as well, such as *wh*-questions, as in (74), and sentences involving "clefting words" (Chapter 4), as in (75).

(74) a. *Tshekuân* ***ekâ*** *uiâpâtamin?*
what.is.it NEG IC.see.CONJ.2>3
'What is it that you don't see?' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 101)

b. *Tshekuân uet* ***ekâ*** *uîtamuîn?*
what.is.it IC.from NEG tell.CONJ.2>1
'Why is it that you didn't tell me?' (WO 4-2-32)

(75) a. *Eukuan ne* ***ekâ*** *menuâtamân.*
it.is that NEG IC.like.CONJ.1>3
'It's that one that I don't like.' (WO 3-4-41)

b. *Ekute ute* ***ekâ*** *uâ itûtet.*
it.LOC.is this.LOC NEG IC.VOLIT go.CONJ.3S
'It's here that he doesn't want to go.' (WO 3-4-35)

Recall from Chapter 4 that both *wh*-questions and clefting-word sentences may be seen as involving bi-clausal cleft structures. Under this analysis, the lexical verb is contained within a subordinate clause, so its negation by *ekâ* is not an exception to the general rule.

Ekâ is also found in clauses that follow the conjunctions *ek"* and *ekue*, as in (76).

(76) *Mishta-shetshishîpan* *ekue* ***ekâ*** *tshissit.*
really-be.scared.PRET.3S and.so NEG be.conscious.3S
'She was really scared, and so she fainted.' (WO 3-2-36)

This construction is referred to as ASYMMETRICAL COORDINATION in Section 8.4.2 below. In asymmetrical coordination structures, the verb following the conjunction is normally required to be in the conjunct order, so its negation by *ekâ* is unsurprising.

Finally, the *ekâ* negator also occurs with imperative verbs, as in (77a), and with verbs carrying subjective inflection, as in (77b).[33]

(77) a. ***Ekâ*** *tshîtûte.*
NEG leave.IMP.2S
'Don't leave.' (LITP 1-8-005)

b. *Nâsht* ***ekâ*** *nitshissenitenâuâ.*
completely NEG 1.know.1>3.SBJCTV
'It seems to me that I don't really know it.' (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 134)

In summary, the two major negators have the following distribution: *apû* is found in simple main clauses while *ekâ* is found in subordinate clauses (including *wh*-questions and cleft sentences), asymmetrical coordination structures, and clauses that contain imperative

[33]As subjective verb forms are constructed from independent forms, it is unclear why they require *ekâ*. Note, however, that the English translation of a subjective verb form always involves a subordinate clause, as in (77b), suggesting that subjective forms may indeed involve some sort of subordination.

and subjective verbs. For a theoretical analysis of the distribution of *apû* and *ekâ*, see the work of Brittain (1996, 1997, 1999, 2001).

NEGATORS AND TENSE MORPHOLOGY. Several interesting interactions between negation and tense morphology should be noted. It was stated above that an independent verb form is normally negated by *apû* plus the conjunct form, as shown in (78).

(78) a. *Tshîtûteu.*
leave.3S
'S/he is leaving.'

b. ***Apû*** *tshîtûtet.*
NEG leave.CONJ.3S
'S/he is not leaving.'

This example, like all others presented thus far, involves neutral tense inflection. Recall from Section 1.1.4, however, that Innu-aimun verbs may also be inflected in the preterit. How is a preterit verb negated? Since an independent indicative neutral verb is negated by *apû* plus the conjunct indicative neutral, we would expect an independent indicative preterit verb to be negated by *apû* plus the conjunct indicative preterit. This is not possible, however, as Innu-aimun lacks an indicative preterit paradigm in the conjunct order. Independent preterit forms are instead negated by the conjunct neutral, just as independent neutral forms are; past time reference is indicated by the preverb *tût* (Clarke 1982: 87), as illustrated in (79).[34]

(79) a. *Tshîtûtepan.*
leave.PRET.3S
'S/he left.'

b. ***Apû*** ***tût*** *tshîtûtet.*
NEG PRET leave.CONJ.3S
'S/he did not leave.'

[34]This preverb is pronounced as *tût* in Sheshatshiu, but also occurs as *tshût* and *ût* in other dialects of Innu-aimun (MacKenzie 1992: 281). Some of my younger consultants also pronounce it as *tû*.

The lack of a conjunct indicative preterit paradigm also affects the negation of *wh*-questions. In *wh*-questions with present temporal reference, the (changed) conjunct indicative neutral form of the verb is used, as in (80a). Such questions are negated, as expected, simply by the addition of *ekâ* (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 101), as in (80b).

(80) a. *Auen* *tshâtûtet*?
who IC.leave.CONJ.3S
'Who is leaving?'

b. *Auen* ***ekâ*** *tshâtûtet*?
who NEG IC.leave.CONJ.3S
'Who is not leaving?'

In *wh*-questions with past temporal reference, we would, in principle, expect conjunct indicative preterit forms to be used. Since this paradigm does not exist, forms from the independent indicative preterit paradigm are used instead (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 101), as in (81a). How are such questions negated? José Mailhot (p.c.) indicates that there are at least two possibilities. The negative may be formed using *ekâ*, the *tût* preverb, and the (unchanged) conjunct indicative neutral form, as in (81b-i). Alternatively, it may be formed simply by adding *ekâ* to the independent indicative preterit form, as in (81b-ii).

(81) a. *Auen* *tshîtûte**pan***?
who leave.PRET.3S
'Who left?'

b. (i) *Auen* ***ekâ*** ***tût*** *tshîtûtet*?
who NEG PRET leave.CONJ.3S
'Who did not leave?'

(ii) *Auen* ***ekâ*** *tshîtûte**pan***?
who NEG leave.PRET.3S
'Who did not leave?'

It seems, then, that Innu-aimun has developed two distinct techniques to compensate for the absence of the conjunct indicative preterit paradigm. Forms from the independent indicative preterit paradigm may simply be substituted, or, alternatively, the preverb *tût* plus

the conjunct indicative neutral form may be used as a conjunct preterit equivalent. The substitution of independent preterit forms is found uniformly in affirmative *wh*-questions; for some speakers, it is also found in negative *wh*-questions, as in (81b-ii). The *tût*-plus-conjunct alternative is found uniformly in negative main clauses; for some speakers, it is also found in negative *wh*-questions, as in (81b-i).

In addition to the negation patterns that arise in relation to the preterit, it should also be noted that when *ekâ* occurs with the future preverb *tshe* (the changed form of *ka*), *ekâ* regularly intervenes between *tshe* and the verb (Clarke 1982: 127), as shown in (82).

(82) a. *Nitshissenimâu tshe **ekâ** takushinit.*
1.know.1>3 IC.FUT NEG come.CONJ.3S
'I know he won't come.' (Clarke 1982: 127)

b. *Tshe **ekâ** tâtshinamek^{u} tshunâkanuâua!*
IC.FUT NEG touch.IMP.2P>3 2.dish.2P.3P
'Do not touch your dishes!' (LITP 3-5-077)

OTHER SENTENCE NEGATORS. Aside from *apû* and *ekâ*, Innu-aimun has three other sentence negators: *atut*, *ama*, and *mâuât*. The *atut* negator, described by MacKenzie (1992), may be translated as 'probably not,' as in the examples in (83).

(83) a. ***Atut** tshitshî aitin eitiân.*
NEG.DUB 2.ABIL do.2S IC.do.CONJ.1S
'You probably won't be able to do what I do.' (LITP 4-3-238)

b. ***Atut** nîtâ tshî pûnipan.*
NEG.DUB ever PERF stop.PRET.3S
'He probably never would have stopped.' (LITP 2-7-068)

Atut is used to form the negative equivalent of an affirmative clause containing an independent dubitative neutral verb (MacKenzie 1992). As shown in (83), *atut*, unlike *apû* and *ekâ*, may be followed by an independent indicative verb form.

The *ama* negator, exemplified in (84), is used in the Mushuau dialect spoken in Natuashish, Labrador. *Ama* is a variant of the *nama* negator found throughout the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect continuum (MacKenzie 1992). Like *apû*, *ama* occurs in contexts where the affirmative equivalent would contain an independent verb form. However, unlike *apû*, *ama* does not require the following verb to be inflected in the conjunct order.

(84) a. ***Ama*** *nuî* *ashâmikᵘ* *Uâpush.*
NEG 1.VOLIT feed.3>1 Hare
'Hare doesn't want to feed me.' (LITP 1-4-101)

b. ***Ama*** *tshika* *tshî* *nîtâ* *tâu.*
NEG 3.FUT ABIL ever be.3S
'It will never be there.' (LITP 3-3-058)

In all varieties of Innu-aimun other than the Mushuau dialect, the *(n)ama* negator has been replaced by *apû* (MacKenzie 1992).

The *mâuât* negator more commonly occurs as an interjection meaning 'no' (§8.5). Its use as a constituent negator was illustrated in example (71) above. *Mâuât* also occasionally appears as a sentence negator in the LITP texts, as in the examples in (85).

(85) a. ***Mâuât*** *nika* *tshî* *tûtuâu* *nussim* *tâpue.*
NEG 1.FUT ABIL do.1>3 1.grandchild indeed
'I will not be able to do that, my grandson, indeed.' (LITP 4-3-233)

b. *Ekʷ uîn ishkueu* ***mâuât*** *itenimeu tshetshî nipâiânitî innua.*
then EMPH woman NEG think.3>3′ IRREAL kill.CONJ.3′>3″ Innu.3′
'But the woman did not think that the Innu had killed him.' (LITP 1-9-003)

It seems clear that *mâuât* is indeed acting as a sentence negator in these examples, for if it were omitted, the sentences would be affirmative. When I presented similar examples to my consultants, however, they judged them to be unacceptable, commenting that they sound like the speech of a young child or a second-language learner (much like parallel English examples such as *You* ***no*** *like me*). It is difficult, then, to explain why such examples do occur in the LITP texts. One possible explanation is that the use of *mâuât* as a sentence negator has some special rhetorical effect. However, I have no evidence to indicate that this is indeed the case.

8.3.3. CONCLUSION—NEGATORS. This section has provided a brief description of negation in Innu-aimun. As shown above, negation may be divided into two basic types: constituent negation and sentence negation. Two Innu-aimun particles serve as constituent negators: *apû*, which negates sentence-internal constituents, and *mâuât*, which negates constituents that stand alone as utterances. The two major sentence negators of Innu-aimun—*apû* and *ekâ*—are in complementary distribution conditioned by clause type. The sentence negators *atut*, *ama*, and *mâuât* also occur, but are much less frequent than *apû* and *ekâ*.

8.4. CONJUNCTIONS. In traditional usage, the term "conjunction" refers to a variety of "linking words" which actually have very little in common. In English, for example, the words *and*, *after*, and *if* are all traditionally considered to be conjunctions. As the examples in (86) illustrate, however, these three words serve quite distinct grammatical functions.

(86) a. We saw John **and** Mary. (*and* links two NPs)

b. **After** they left, we cleaned up. (*after* creates an adverbial clause)

b. I asked **if** she had seen Paul. (*if* creates a complement clause)

Innu-aimun conjunctions are similarly heterogeneous. Based on their grammatical properties, six unique classes of conjunctions may be distinguished. There are two types of coordinating conjunctions, or COORDINATORS: symmetrical coordinators (§8.4.1) and asymmetrical coordinators (§8.4.2). In addition, there are three types of subordinating conjunctions, or SUBORDINATORS: complement-clause subordinators (§8.4.3), adverbial-clause subordinators (§8.4.4), and sentence-initial subordinators (§8.4.5). Finally, there is also a class of conjunctive adverbs (§8.4.6).

In brief, the six classes of conjunctions are distinguished as follows. A SYMMETRICAL COORDINATOR joins two grammatically identical constituents, such as two NPs, as in (87a), or two clauses which each contain a verb in the independent order, as in (87b).

(87) a. *Meshekût* [NP *innuat*] ***mâk*** [NP *âissîmeuat*] *tâuat* *anite* *Nâpitau.*
mostly [NP Innu.3P] and [NP Inuit.3P] be.3P the.LOC Labrador
'Mostly Innu and Inuit are in Labrador.' (WO 2-1-72)

b. [S *Nishtûtamûpanat* *nenû*] ***muk^{u}*** [S *etatû* *uî* *tshissenitamuat*].
[S understand.PRET.3 that.3′] but [S more VOLIT know.3>3′]
'They understood it but they want to know more about it.' (WO 3-5-48)

Innu-aimun has the symmetrical coordinators *mâk* 'and,' *kie* 'and,' *kie mâ* 'or,' *muk^{u}* 'but,' *tânite* 'because,' and *ek^{u}* 'and.'

An ASYMMETRICAL COORDINATOR joins two clauses, the first of which contains a verb in the independent order and the second of which contains a verb in the conjunct order. An example is provided in (88).

(88) [S *Ninakuâtânân uâpush*] ***ekue*** [S *pâkunât Pûn*].
[S 1.snare.1P>3 rabbit] and.then [S skin.CONJ.3>3′ Paul]
'We caught a rabbit and then Paul skinned it.' (WO 1-7-27)

Innu-aimun has the asymmetrical coordinators *ekue* and *ek"*, both of which are translated as 'and then, and so.'

A COMPLEMENT-CLAUSE SUBORDINATOR, or COMPLEMENTIZER, creates a complement clause—a subordinate clause that serves as the complement of a verb, as in (89). The verb in a complement clause is normally inflected in the conjunct order.

(89) *Apû tshissenimâk* [CL ***tshetshî*** *tât*].
NEG know.CONJ.1>3 [CL IRREAL be.CONJ.3S]
'I don't know whether he is there.' (Clarke 1982: 147)

Innu-aimun has only one complement-clause subordinator: *tshetshî* 'whether.'[35]

An ADVERBIAL-CLAUSE SUBORDINATOR, or ADVERBIALIZER, creates an adverbial clause—a subordinate clause that serves to modify a verb, as in (90). As with complement clauses, the verb in an adverbial clause is always inflected in the conjunct order.

(90) [CL ***Miâm*** *uâ tshîtûteiân*] *matuetitâu.*
[CL just.as IC.VOLIT leave.CONJ.1S] call.3S
'Just as I was going to leave, he called.' (WO 4-4-6)

[35]*Tshetshî* is actually a preverb, not a particle. There are certain indications, however, that *tshetshî* may be gaining particle-like properties. See Section 8.4.3 for further discussion.

Innu-aimun adverbial-clause subordinators include *iâ(pi)t* 'even if, even though,' *mekuât* 'while,' *miâm* 'just as, just as though,' and *pâtush* 'until, unless.'

A SENTENCE-INITIAL SUBORDINATOR is found only at the beginning of a sentence and requires the following verb to be inflected in the conjunct order, as in (91).

(91) ***Tshîmâ*** [S *pâssitet* *assî*].
if.only [S catch.fire.CONJ.3S earth]
'I wish the earth would catch fire.' (LITP 1-5-085)

Innu-aimun has the sentence-initial subordinators *enûsh* 'it's the first time (that),' *iâkuâ* 'be careful not to,' and *tshîmâ* 'I wish, if only.'

Finally, a CONJUNCTIVE ADVERB indicates how a sentence relates to the preceding discourse, as exemplified in (92).

(92) [S [S *Utina*] ***utin***].
[S [S take.IMP.2>3] in.that.case]
'Take it, in that case.' (WO 1-2-64)

Innu-aimun conjunctive adverbs include *eshpa* 'however, on the other hand,' *iâpit* 'nevertheless,' *mâte* 'well then, for example,' and *tânite* 'however, besides.'

The following sections describe each class of conjunctions in more detail. As the descriptive facts alone are quite complicated, little will be offered in the way of deeper theoretical explanation. In order to standardize the representation of conjunctions, clauses, and verb forms, all subsequent examples and diagrams use the abbreviations listed in (93).

(93)	Adv	(conjunctive) adverb	Subord	subordinator
	CL	subordinate clause	V_{ind}	verb with independent inflection
	Coord	coordinator	V_{conj}	verb with conjunct inflection
	S	sentence/independent clause		

The conjunctions of Innu-aimun were examined in an unpublished paper by Starks (1982). Portions of the following discussion are influenced by Starks' work, though with several modifications, additions, and refinements.

8.4.1. SYMMETRICAL COORDINATORS. A symmetrical coordinator is a particle that joins two grammatically identical constituents.[36] This section first examines the symmetrical coordination of phrases and clauses. In light of the properties of symmetrical coordinators, two grammatical tests for coordination are then provided. The section concludes with a discussion of "coordination fragments" such as English *But I don't want to.*

SYMMETRICAL COORDINATION OF PHRASES. The symmetrical coordinators *mâk* 'and,' *kie* 'and,' and *kie mâ* 'or' may be used to coordinate two phrases of the same type. Examples of *mâk* coordinating NPs, PPs, and VPs are provided in (94).[37]

(94)	a.	*Meshekût*	[NP *innuat*]	***mâk***	[NP *âissîmeuat*]	*tâuat*	*anite*	*Nâpatû.*
		mostly	[NP Innu.3P]	and	[NP Inuit.3P]	be.3P	the.LOC	Labrador
		Mostly Innu and Inuit are in Labrador.						(WO 2-1-72)

[36]The term "symmetrical coordinator" is adapted from Starks' (1982) use of the term "temporally symmetrical coordination." In this thesis, the term refers only to grammatical symmetry, not to temporal symmetry.

[37]Starks (1982) analyzes example (94c) as involving the coordination of sentences rather than of VPs. However, as Starks notes, whenever *mâk* is used in this way, the two apparent sentences obligatorily have the same subject. It therefore seems better to analyze such examples as involving VP coordination, as this analysis automatically requires the two coordinated VPs to share the same subject.

b. *Mânî kâtâu mîna* [PP *anite shek" ûtît*] ***mâk***
Marie hide.3S berry.3P [PP the.LOC under canoe.LOC] and
[PP *anite âkû upatshuiânitshuâpît*].
[PP the.LOC behind 3.tent.LOC]
'Marie hid the berries under her canoe and behind her tent.' (WO 6-2-10)

c. *Tshân utishkuema* [VP *piminuenua mûsh-uiâshinu*] ***mâk*** [VP *tûtuenua*
John 3.wife.3′ [VP cook.3′>3″ moose-meat.3″] and [VP make.3′>3″
pâkueshikan].
bread]
'John's wife is cooking moosemeat and making bread." (Starks 1982: 12)

The symmetrical coordinators *kie* 'and' and *kie mâ* 'or' are exemplified in (95).

(95) a. [NP *Uâpuiâna*] ***kie*** [NP *auâssîu-matshunisha*] *mishkam".*
[NP blanket.3′] and [NP baby-clothing.3′] find.3>3′
'He found a blanket and baby clothes.' (LITP 3-5-039)

b. [NP *Tûtûshinâpuî*] ***kie mâ*** [NP *nipî*] *tshika tshî min.*
[NP milk] or [NP water] 2.FUT ABIL drink.2S
'You can drink milk or water.' (WO 1-10-20)

As a symmetrical coordinator of phrases, *kie* is used much less frequently than *mâk.* However, *kie*, unlike *mâk*, may also be used to symmetrically coordinate clauses.

SYMMETRICAL COORDINATION OF CLAUSES. The symmetrical coordinators *kie* 'and,' *kie mâ* 'or,' *muk"* 'but,' *tânite* 'because,' and *ek"* 'and,' exemplified in (96), may all be used to link two clauses that have the same grammatical status (Starks 1982).

(96) a. [S *Passe innuat mueuat namesha*] ***kie*** [S *passe mîtshuat atîku-uiâshinu*].
[S some person.3P eat.3>3′ fish.3′] and [S some eat.3P caribou-meat.3′]
'Some people ate fish and some ate caribou.' (WO 1-10-2)

b. [S *Tshe aimin*] ***kie mâ*** [S *tshe mûpin*].
[S IC.FUT call.CONJ.2S] or [S IC.FUT visit.CONJ.2S]
'Call or visit.' (WO 4-4-28)

c. [S *Nishtûtamûpanat nenû*] ***muk"*** [S *etatû uî tshissenitamuat*].
[S understand.PRET.3 that.3′] but [S more VOLIT know.3>3′]
'They understood it but they want to know more about it.' (WO 3-5-48)

d. [S *Upauat shîshîpat*] ***tânite*** [S *Pien âshîkueu*].
[S take.off.3P duck.3P] because [S Pierre shout.3S]
'The ducks flew away because Pierre shouted.' (WO 6-1-21)

e. [S *Nimânukâshun nîn*] ***ek"*** [S *Mânî kutueu*].[38]
[S pitch.tent.1S 1S] and [S Marie make.fire3S]
'I set up the tent and Marie built a fire.' (WO 1-2-29)

In general, two clauses have the same grammatical status if the same verbal order—independent, conjunct, or imperative—is used in each clause.[39] Symmetrical coordinators most often link two clauses that contain independent verb forms. However, other possibilities do occur. In (96b), for example, both clauses contain conjunct verb forms.[40]

Several symmetrical coordinators serve other functions as well. *Muk"* also acts as a focus particle (§8.1) while *tânite* also acts as an interrogative locative demonstrative (§4.3)

[38]Note that *ek"* is pronounced as [ɛkw̥] in isolation, but as [ɛgo] before a consonant (Clarke 1982: 151).

[39]Negation complicates matters slightly. As discussed in Section 8.3, only conjunct verb forms are used in negated clauses. In such cases, it is the negator itself, not the verb, that indicates the grammatical status of the clause. Clauses negated by *apû* correspond with affirmative clauses containing an independent verb form while clauses negated by *ekâ* correspond with affirmative clauses containing a conjunct verb form.

[40]In this example, the conjunct is used as an imperative equivalent, as described by Clarke (1982: 153).

and a conjunctive adverb (§8.4.6). *Ekᵘ* may act either as a symmetrical coordinator, as shown above in (96e), or as an asymmetrical coordinator, as shown below in Section 8.4.2. In its symmetrical use, *ekᵘ* is normally followed by an independent verb form, while in its asymmetrical use, a conjunct verb obligatorily follows. The two uses of *ekᵘ* are also distinguished semantically: events linked by symmetrical *ekᵘ* are understood to occur at the same time while events linked by asymmetrical *ekᵘ* are understood to be in a temporal or causal sequence (Starks 1982).

TESTS FOR COORDINATION. Note that while Innu-aimun *tânite* and English *because* have equivalent meanings, they belong to different grammatical categories. *Tânite*, as indicated in (96d) above, is a coordinator, while *because* is a subordinator. As with all coordinators listed in this section, the classification of *tânite* is based not on its meaning, but on its grammatical properties. Three basic tests may be used to distinguish between coordination and subordination in Innu-aimun: (1) symmetry, (2) obviation, and (3) movement. The three tests are briefly stated in (97).

(97) A particle is a coordinator if it links two clauses and...

a. the clauses both contain independent verb forms (SYMMETRY)

b. the clauses are separate obviation domains (OBVIATION)

c. the particle and the second clause are not a movable constituent (MOVEMENT)

The first test, symmetry, was discussed above. The second test involves the patterning of obviation in complex sentences. If two clauses are linked by a coordinator, the clauses are separate OBVIATION DOMAINS in the sense of Bruening (2001: 212). That is, obviation

is calculated separately within each clause, so each clause may contain a distinct proximate argument. In the coordination structure in (98), for example, the first clause contains the proximate argument *Max* while the second clause contains the proximate argument *Betty*. (Boxes are used here to represent obviation domains.)

(98)

CLAUSE 1				CLAUSE 2		
[S ***Max***	*piminueu*	*uâua*]	*ek"*	[S ***Betty***	*piminueu*	*pakâkuâna*]
Max	cook.3S	egg.3′P	and	Betty	cook.3S	chicken.3′
PROXIMATE: *Max* OBVIATIVE: *uâua*				PROXIMATE: *Betty* OBVIATIVE: *pakâkuâna*		

'Max cooks the eggs and Betty cooks the chicken.' (Starks 1982: 12)

A subordinate clause, on the other hand, is not a separate obviation domain. Rather, it is included in the same obviation domain as the main clause. In the subordination structure in (99), for example, the main clause subject *Mânî* is proximate, so the subordinate clause subject *Piena* is required to be obviative.[41]

(99)

CLAUSE 1			CLAUSE 2				
[S *Uâpekaitsheu*	***Mânî***]	[CL	*eshk"*	*ekâ*	*takushinnitî*	***Piena***	]
do.laundry.3S	Marie		yet	NEG	arrive.3′	Pierre.3′	
PROXIMATE: *Mânî*, OBVIATIVE: *Piena*							

'Marie did the laundry before Pierre arrived.' (WO 6-1-18)

Recall that the classification of *tânite* as a coordinator was surprising in comparison with English *because*. The obviation test supports the conclusion that *tânite* is a coordinator. As with other coordinators, clauses linked by *tânite* are separate obviation domains and may therefore contain distinct proximate subjects, as illustrated in (100).

[41] Starks (1982) refers to such cases as "interclausal obviation."

(100) [S *Upauat* ***shîshîpat***] *tânite* [S ***Pien*** *âshîkueu*].
[S take.off.3P duck.3P] because [S Pierre shout.3S]
'The ducks flew away because Pierre shouted.' (WO 6-1-21)

The third test for coordination involves the range of positions that may be occupied by the conjunction and the clause that follows it. In English and in Innu-aimun, an adverbial subordinate clause may be freely placed either before or after the main clause, as in (101).

(101) a. (i) He was asleep **when I arrived.**

(ii) **When I arrived**, he was asleep.

b. (i) *Shâsh nipâshapan* ***tekushiniân.***
already sleep.PRET.EVID.3S IC.arrive.CONJ.1S
'He must have already been asleep when I arrived.'

(ii) ***Tekushiniân*** *nipâshapan shâsh.*
IC.arrive.CONJ.1S sleep.PRET.EVID.3S already
'When I arrived, he must have been asleep already.' (WO 4-2-71)

However, the comparable portion of a coordination structure does not enjoy the same freedom, as illustrated in (102).

(102) a. (i) I built a fire **and she pitched the tent.**

(ii) ***And she pitched the tent**, I built a fire.

b. (i) *Nimânukâshun nîn* ***ekᵘ*** ***Mânî kutueu.***
pitch.tent.1S 1S and Marie make.fire3S
'I set up the tent and Marie built a fire.'

(ii) ****Ekᵘ*** ***Mânî kutueu*** *nimânukâshun nîn.*
and Marie make.fire3S pitch.tent.1S 1S
*'And Marie built a fire, I set up the tent.' (WO 1-2-29)

The application of this test to *tânite* is shown in (103). Since *tânite* and the following clause are not movable, this test confirms that *tânite* behaves like a coordinator, not a subordinator.

(103) a. *Nipîtutshetân* ***tânite*** ***uî*** ***tshimuanûpan.***
1.go.inside.PRET.1P because VOLIT rain.PRET.3S
'We went inside because it was going to rain.'

b. ****Tânite*** ***uî*** ***tshimuanûpan*** *nipîtutshetân.*
because VOLIT rain.PRET.3S 1.go.inside.PRET
'Because it was going to rain, we went inside.' (WO 1-9-13)

COORDINATION FRAGMENTS. One further aspect of the syntax of coordinators should be noted. In Innu-aimun, as in English, it is possible for a sentence to begin with a coordinator. Such sentences occur quite frequently in normal discourse, as in (104).

(104) SPEAKER A: John majored in chemistry.

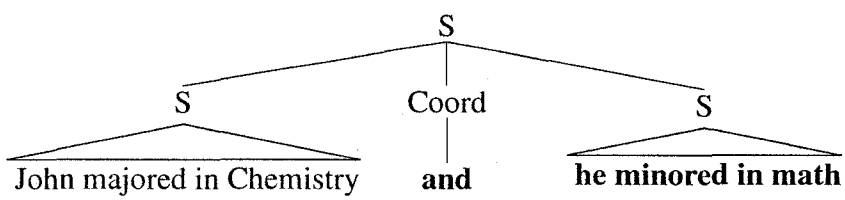
SPEAKER B: Oh really? I didn't know that.

SPEAKER A: Yes, it's surprising. **And he minored in math.**

Sentences such as *And he minored in math* are often disapprovingly labelled as "sentence fragments" in schoolroom grammar. This judgment arises from the fact that such sentences may also occur as the second portion of a full coordination structure, as in (105).

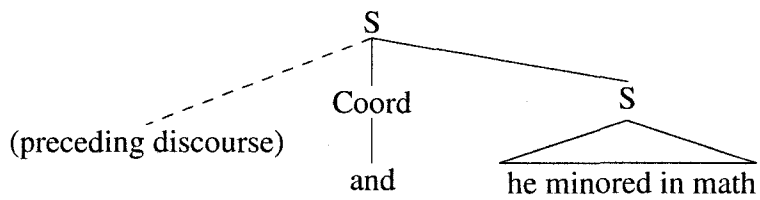
(105) a. John majored in chemistry **and he minored in math**.

b.



The "sentence fragment" in (104) differs from the full coordination structure in (105) in that the first conjoined clause is omitted, thus leaving the coordinator *and* in sentence-initial position. In pragmatic terms, the sentence-initial coordinator acts as a DISCOURSE MARKER, indicating how the sentence should be understood in relation to the preceding discourse. As stated in Schiffrin's (1987: 141) pioneering study of discourse markers, "wherever we find *and*, we know we have a unit that is connected to a structurally equivalent unit somewhere in the prior discourse." Grammatically, then, the coordinator in examples like (104) appears to play exactly the same linking role as it does in (105). The only difference is that in "sentence fragment" examples, the initial conjoined clause is inferred rather than overtly expressed. This analysis is illustrated in (106).

(106)



I will use the term COORDINATION FRAGMENT to refer to examples in which the first clause of a coordination structure is omitted. Examples of Innu-aimun coordination fragments involving the coordinator *kie* 'and' are provided in (107).

(107) a. ***Kie*** *matshunisha passe anite takuana utît.*
and clothing.3P some the.LOC be.3P canoe.LOC
'And there were some clothes in canoe.' (LITP 3-5-096)

b. ***Kie*** *mishta-mishishtikuâu shîpû.*
and very-be.big.river.3S river
'And the river was very big.' (LITP 2-3-025)

c. ***Kie*** *apû nîtâ unuît ne Mishtâpeu kâtshî pîtutshet.*
and NEG ever go.out.CONJ.3S that Mishtapeu after go.in.CONJ.3S
'And the Mishtapeu never went out after he went in.' (LITP 4-3-153)

Further examples of Innu-aimun coordination fragments are provided in the discussion of asymmetrical coordinators below.

CONCLUSION—SYMMETRICAL COORDINATORS. As this section has shown, symmetrical coordinators link two constituents that have the same grammatical status—either two phrases of the same type or two clauses containing verbs inflected in the same order. Symmetrical coordinators also occur sentence-initially in the construction referred to above as a coordination fragment. Symmetrical coordination may be identified by tests involving grammatical symmetry, obviation domains, and movement. Of the six classes of conjunctions identified in this thesis, only symmetrical coordinators may link either phrases or clauses. All other conjunctions combine exclusively with clauses.

8.4.2. ASYMMETRICAL COORDINATORS. Asymmetrical coordinators create coordination structures in which the two clauses do not have equal grammatical status. In an asymmetrical coordination structure, the second clause obligatorily contains a verb in the conjunct order. In this respect, asymmetrical coordination is similar to subordination. However, as is shown below, asymmetrical coordination has the same obviation and movement properties as symmetrical coordination. It appears, then, that asymmetrical coordination is actually intermediate between coordination and subordination, as noted by Starks (1982).[42]

[42]I refer to it as coordination because it has more in common with coordination than with subordination.

Innu-aimun has two asymmetrical coordinators: *ek*^{u} and *ekue*, both translated as 'and then, and so.'[43] *Ek*^{u} and *ekue* enter into two distinct sub-types of asymmetrical coordination. In both types, the second clause obligatorily contains a conjunct verb. The first clause, however, may be either an independent clause—that is, a clause containing a verb in the independent order—or an adverbial subordinate clause. This section examines these two sub-types of asymmetrical coordination and then discusses the occurrence of asymmetrical coordinators in coordination fragments.

ASYMMETRICAL COORDINATION—INITIAL INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. Examples of asymmetrical coordination involving an initial independent clause are provided in (108). In each example, the first clause contains an independent verb while the second clause contains a conjunct verb. In such examples, the event in the first clause always temporally or causally precedes the event in the second clause (Starks 1982).

(108) a. [$_S$ *Ninakuâtânân uâpush*] ***ekue*** [$_S$ *pâkunât* *Pûn*].
[$_S$ 1.snare.1P>3 rabbit] and.then [$_S$ skin.CONJ.3>3′ Paul]
'We caught a rabbit and then Paul skinned it.' (WO 1-7-27)

b. [$_S$ *Apû tût minuâtât minûsha*] ***ekue*** [$_S$ *tshîtûtet*].
[$_S$ NEG PRET like.CONJ.3>3′ cat.3′] and.so [$_S$ leave.CONJ.3S]
'He didn't like the cat, so he left.' (WO 3-3-44)

c. [$_S$ *Tûtamûpanû mûkumânnû*] ***ek***^{u} [$_S$ *uânameshet*
[$_S$ make.hurriedly.3 knife.3′S] and.then [$_S$ IC.clean.fish.CONJ.3S
tâpue].
indeed]
'He made a knife and then, indeed, he cleaned the fish.' (LITP 2-4-052)

[43]Branigan and MacKenzie (2002b: 110) suggest that *ekue* is a "more clearly deictic variant" of *ek*^{u}.

Why should these examples be seen as coordination rather than subordination? Recall the three tests for coordination discussed in the preceding section: symmetry, obviation, and movement. The examples in (108) do not pass the symmetry test, as the two clauses contain verbs inflected in different orders. In this respect, these examples pattern with subordination. Regarding the other two tests, however, the examples in (108) pattern instead with coordination. As in symmetrical coordination structures, the two clauses in such examples are separate obviation domains (Starks 1982). This is illustrated in (109), in which the two clauses have distinct proximate subjects.

(109) [$_S$ *Takushinû*] *ek^u* [$_S$ ***uîn*** *tshe* *tipâtshimut*].
[$_S$ come.**3S**] and.so [$_S$ **3S** FUT tell.story.CONJ.3S]
'He came, and so she will tell a story.' (Starks 1982: 21)

Furthermore, the conjunction and the following clause do not form a movable constituent, as illustrated in (110). This property is also shared with symmetrical coordination.

(110) a. *Ninakuâtânân* *uâpush* ***ekue*** ***pâkunak.***
1.snare.1P>3 rabbit and.then skin.CONJ.1S>3
'We caught a rabbit and then I skinned it.'

b. **Ekue* ***pâkunak*** *ninakuâtânân* *uâpush.*
and.then skin.CONJ.1S>3 1.snare.1P>3 rabbit
*'And then I skinned it, we caught a rabbit' (WO 1-7-27)

Syntactically, then, these examples behave like typical coordination structures. Morphologically, on the other hand, their asymmetry makes them more like subordination. The label "asymmetrical coordination" is intended to reflect this intermediate status.

ASYMMETRICAL COORDINATION—INITIAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSE. It is also possible for an adverbial subordinate clause to occupy the initial position of an asymmetrical coordination structure, as shown in (111).[44]

(111) a. [$_{CL}$ *Miâm uâ tshîtûteiân*] ***ekue*** [$_{S}$ *aimit*].
[$_{CL}$ just.as VOLIT leave.CONJ.1S] then [$_{S}$ call.CONJ.3S]
'Just as I was going to leave, (then) he called.' (WO 3-2-13)

b. [$_{CL}$ *Kâtshî tshîtutet*] ***ekue*** [$_{S}$ *nipâiân*].
[$_{CL}$ after leave.CONJ.3S] then [$_{S}$ sleep.CONJ.1S]
'After he left, (then) I went to sleep.' (WO 4-2-70)

c. [$_{CL}$ *Kâtshî tshîshi-tshishkutamâtîshut*] ***ekue*** [$_{S}$ *unuîpan*].[45]
[$_{CL}$ after finish-study.CONJ.3S] then [$_{S}$ leave.PRET.3S]
'After he finished studying, (then) he went out.' (Starks 1982: 26)

The initial clause in these examples is clearly an adverbial subordinate clause. This may be seen by omitting *ekue* from an example such as (111c), as Starks (1982) notes. When *ekue* is omitted, as in (112), the result is a grammatical sentence in which the adverbial clause directly modifies the verb.

(112) [$_{CL}$ *Kâtshî tshîshi-tshishkutamâtîshut*] *unuîpan.*
[$_{CL}$ after finish-study.CONJ.3S] leave.PRET.3S
'After he finished studying, he went out.' (Starks 1982: 27)

[44]Starks (1982: 26) refers to such examples as "co-relative" structures.

[45]In this example, the clause following *ekue* contains the indicative preterit verb form *unuîpan*—a form from the independent order, not the expected conjunct order. The independent order is used because of a gap in the conjunct paradigm: there are no indicative preterit conjunct forms (Clarke 1982: 87). Corresponding forms from the independent order are therefore substituted (Starks 1982). This substitution also occurs in *wh*-questions, which otherwise require a conjunct verb form (Clarke and MacKenzie 2007: 94).

In asymmetrical coordination examples like those in (111), the initial adverbial clause is not an independent obviation domain. This is illustrated in (113), in which *Ân*, the subject of the clause follwing *ekue*, is proximate, therefore requiring *Shûshepa*, the subject of the adverbial clause, to be obviative. As discussed in Section 8.4.1 above, this behaviour is shared with subordinate clauses in general.

(113) [$_{CL}$ *Pîtutshenitî* ***Shûshepa*** *ute* *kâtshipaikanishtît*] *ekue*
[$_{CL}$ enter.CONJ.3′S Joseph.3′ this.LOC room.LOC] then
[$_{S}$ *tshîtûtet* ***Ân***].
[$_{S}$ leave.CONJ.3S Ann]
'Whenever Joseph comes into the room, Ann leaves.' (WO 1-2-27)

Unlike typical adverbial clauses, however, the initial adverbial clause in an asymmetrical coordination structure is not freely movable (Starks 1982). This is illustrated in (114).

(114) a. [$_{CL}$ *Kâtshî* *tshîtûtet*] ***ekue*** *nipâiân.*
[$_{CL}$ after leave.CONJ.3S] then sleep.CONJ.1S
'After he left, (then) I went to bed.' (WO 4-2-70)

b. ****Ekue*** *nipâiân,* [$_{CL}$ *kâtshî* *tshîtûtet*].
then sleep.CONJ.1S [$_{CL}$ after leave.CONJ.3S]
'And I went to bed, after he left.' (WO 4-2-70)

The grammatical status of the examples discussed above is quite puzzling. While the initial clause is indeed a subordinate clause, as shown by its obviation properties, its inability to be moved indicates that it is nevertheless participating in a coordination structure. Since these examples, like those involving an initial independent clause, combine properties of both subordination and coordination, I will continue to refer to them as instances of asymmetrical coordination.

ASYMMETRICAL COORDINATION FRAGMENTS. As shown in Section 8.4.1, it is possible to omit the first clause in a coordination structure, thereby creating a "coordination fragment" in which the coordinator occupies sentence-initial position. The asymmetrical coordinators *ekᵘ* and *ekue* frequently occur in coordination fragments as well, as exemplified in (115). In coordination fragments, as in full coordination structures, asymmetrical *ekᵘ* and *ekue* require the following verb to be inflected in the conjunct order.[46]

(115) a. ***Ekue*** *patshitinâk* *nenû.*
and.then put.down.CONJ.3>3′ that.3′S
'Then he put it down.' (LITP 3-2-058)

b. ***Ekue*** *uâpâtâk* *mitîtshînû* *uetshipitikut.*
and.then see.CONJ.3>3′ hand.3′ IC.grab.CONJ.3′>3
'Then she saw the hand that grabbed her.' (LITP 1-3-018)

c. ***Ekᵘ*** *tshâuepâtât.*
and.then IC.run.home.CONJ.3S
'Then, he ran home.' (LITP 2-4-039)

This use of *ekᵘ* and *ekue* (henceforth abbreviated as *eku(e)*) is examined in detail by Branigan and MacKenzie 2002b, who note that in asymmetrical coordination fragments, certain constituents sometimes appear in front of *eku(e)*.[47] Examples are provided in (116).

(116) a. [$_{AdvP}$ *Mînuât*] ***ekue*** *tshîtûtet.*
[$_{AdvP}$ again] and.then leave.CONJ.3S
'And again he left.' (LITP 1-4-032)

[46] *Ekᵘ* also has a symmetrical use in which it need not be followed by a conjunct verb, as shown in (96e).

[47] Branigan and MacKenzie (2002b) do not, of course, use the terms "asymmetrical coordination" or "coordination fragment."

b. [$_{VP}$ *Piâtâkuepanit*] ***ek^{u}*** *ne uâpush.*
[$_{VP}$ IC.singe.porcupine.quickly.CONJ.3S] and.then that hare
'Then the hare quickly singed the porcupine.' (LITP 1-4-020)

Branigan and MacKenzie (2002b) analyze such constituents as originating within the clause that follows *eku(e)* and subsequently moving into sentence-initial position, as in (117).[48]

(117) a. [$_{AdvP}$ mînuât] **ekue** tshîtûtet [$_{AdvP}$ ~~mînuât~~].

b. [$_{VP}$ piâtâkuepanit] **ek^{u}** [$_{VP}$ ~~piâtâkuepanit~~] ne uâpush.

Although this movement is most often found in asymmetrical coordination fragments, it occurs in full asymmetrical coordination structures as well, as in (118).

(118) a. *Kâtshî tshimuâk* [$_{AdvP}$ *kâu*] ***ekue*** *unuîât.*
after rain.CONJ.3S [$_{AdvP}$ again] then go.out.CONJ.1P
'After it rained, we went outside again.' (WO 1-6-16)

Kâtshî tshimuâk [$_{AdvP}$ kâu] **ekue** unuîât [$_{AdvP}$ ~~kâu~~]

b. *Kâtshî uînameshet,* [$_{NegP}$ *apû tshî piminuet*] ***ek^{u}***.
after clean.fish.CONJ.3S [$_{NegP}$ NEG ABIL cook.CONJ.3S] then
'After he cleaned the fish, he couldn't cook them.' (LITP 2-4-054)

Kâtshî uînameshet [$_{NegP}$ apû tshî piminuet] **ek^{u}** [$_{NegP}$ ~~apû tshî piminuet~~]

The availability of this movement therefore seems to be a general property of asymmetrical coordination structures.

[48]This brief discussion glosses over many of the details of Branigan and MacKenzie's (2002b) account. Branigan and MacKenzie regard *eku(e)* as occupying the C position and argue that the moved constituent in (117b) is actually IP, not VP.

CONCLUSION—ASYMMETRICAL COORDINATORS. As this section has shown, the asymmetrical coordinators *ekʷ* and *ekue* link two clauses that do not have the same grammatical status. The second clause obligatorily contains a conjunct verb while the first clause may be either an independent clause or an adverbial clause. Asymmetrical coordination structures have grammatical properties in common with both coordination and subordination. The properties of the three types of clause coordination discussed in this chapter are summarized in Table 8.1.

8.4.3. COMPLEMENT-CLAUSE SUBORDINATORS (COMPLEMENTIZERS). Having examined the coordinators of Innu-aimun, we may now turn to subordinators. The first group of subordinators described here are those that occur in complement clauses—clauses that serve as the complement of a verb. In English, complement clauses may occur either with or without a subordinator. In (119), for example, the complement clause *Paul visited you* may occur either with or without the subordinator *that*.

(119) a. I know [$_{CL}$ Paul visited you].

b. I know [$_{CL}$ **that** Paul visited you].

TABLE 8.1. Clausal coordination types

Coordination type	Grammatical structure	Obviation domain
Symmetrical	[$_{S}$ V_{ind}] Coord [$_{S}$ V_{ind}]	Each S
Asymmetrical		
Initial independent clause	[$_{S}$ V_{ind}] *eku(e)* [$_{S}$ V_{conj}]	Each S
Initial adverbial clause	[$_{CL}$ V_{conj}] *eku(e)* [$_{S}$ V_{conj}]	CL+S together

Following Rosenbaum (1967), subordinating conjunctions that mark complement clauses are often referred to as COMPLEMENTIZERS. Most Innu-aimun complement clauses are not introduced by a complementizer, as in the example in (120). Such clauses are therefore parallel to the English example in (119a).

(120) *Nitshisseniten* [$_{CL}$ *Pûn kâ mûpishtâshk*].
1.know.1>3 [$_{CL}$ Paul IC.PERF visit.CONJ.3>2P]
'I know Paul visited you.' (Branigan and MacKenzie 2002a: 389)

Innu-aimun complement clauses are described by Clarke (1982). Although complement clauses do not normally occur with a complementizer particle, they often contain preverbs that may be analyzed as performing the role of a complementizer (e.g. *kâ* 'past,' *tshe* 'future'), as Clarke (1982: 137) suggests. In the classification scheme followed in this thesis, however, these preverbs are not "true" complementizers, as they are not particles.

Aside from the preverbs mentioned above, however, Innu-aimun does have one item that could possibly be analyzed as a complementizer particle. This item, *tshetshî*, occurs in embedded irrealis contexts such as indirect yes-no questions and embedded clauses of wishing, ordering, and permitting (Clarke 1982: 145–150), as exemplified in (121).[49]

(121) a. *Apû tshissenimâk* [$_{CL}$ ***tshetshî*** *tât*].
NEG know.CONJ.1>3 [$_{CL}$ IRREAL be.CONJ.3S]
'I don't know whether he is there.' (Clarke 1982: 147)

b. *Nipakushenimâ* [$_{CL}$ ***tshetshî*** *tshîtûtet*].
1.wish.PRET.1>3 [$_{CL}$ IRREAL leave.CONJ.3S]
'I wished that he would leave.' (Clarke 1982: 148)

[49] *Tshetshî* also occurs in adverbial clauses, as discussed in Section 8.4.4 below.

As mentioned in Section 2.3.1 above, *tshetshî* is actually a combination of two preverbs: *tshe*, the changed form of the future preverb *ka*,[50] plus the preverb *tshî*.[51] As a changed form, *tshetshî* occurs only with verbs inflected in the conjunct order. This distributional restriction makes it possible for *tshetshî* to be reanalyzed as a complementizer. To see how this reanalysis might occur, first consider how a complementizer and a preverb would normally be distinguished. In a clause containing an independent verb form, a complementizer would precede the person-marking prefix while a preverb would follow the prefix, as shown in (122). The person-marking prefix therefore clearly indicates that complementizers and preverbs occupy different syntactic slots.

(122) Complementizer and preverb positions accompanying an independent verb

a. **Complementizer** + Prefix + Verb

b. Prefix + **Preverb** + Verb

Unlike independent verbs, however, conjunct verbs do not occur with a person-marking prefix. Clauses containing conjunct verbs therefore provide no indication that complementizers and preverbs occupy different syntactic slots. In fact, on the surface, complementizers and preverbs appear to occupy exactly the same position, as shown in (123).

(123) Complementizer and preverb positions accompanying a conjunct verb

a. **Complementizer** + Verb

b. **Preverb** + Verb

[50]"Changed form" refers to the well-known Algonquian process of INITIAL CHANGE. In certain environments, verbs inflected in the conjunct order undergo initial change, an ablaut process that alters the first vowel of the verb. If a preverb is present, the preverb undergoes initial change rather than the following verb.

[51]This *tshî* could be one of two preverbs, as discussed in footnote 6 on page 38.

Now, recall that *tshetshî* is restricted to occurring in clauses containing conjunct verb forms. A child learning Innu-aimun will consequently never encounter examples in which *tshetshî* is preceded by a person-marking prefix. The child therefore never receives positive evidence that *tshetshî* is a preverb rather than a complementizer. It is possible, then, that the child may analyze *tshetshî* as a complementizer instead. This change in category, illustrated in (124), would have absolutely no impact on the surface word order in simple examples.

(124) Reanalysis of *tshetshî* (a possible diachronic change)

[$_C$ tshetshî] [$_{Pvb}$ ~~tshetshî~~] Verb

The reanalysis of *tshetshî* would, however, have a grammatical consequence. As a preverb, *tshetshî* must immediately precede the verb, as indicated in (125a); other material, such as an NP, cannot intervene. As a complementizer, however, *tshetshî* should be freely separable from the verb, as shown in (125b).

(125) a. Preverb: NP + *tshetshî* + Verb

b. Complementizer: *tshetshî* + NP + Verb

Examples such as (125b) do in fact occur. In (126), for instance, the noun *kâuâpikueshit* intervenes between *tshetshî* and the verb.

(126) *Nuî* *tshissenimâu* [$_{CL}$ *kassinû* *tshetshî* ***kâuâpikueshit*** *mûpishtâshkuenit*].
1.want know.1>3 [$_{CL}$ every IRREAL priest visit.CONJ.3>2]
'I want to know if every priest visited you.' (Branigan and MacKenzie 2002a: 393)

Such examples indicate that the reanalysis of *tshetshî* as a complementizer may indeed have taken place, at least for certain speakers. If this is the case, then it would seem that Innu-aimun has gained a true complementizer particle.[52]

8.4.4. ADVERBIAL-CLAUSE SUBORDINATORS (ADVERBIALIZERS). Adverbial-clause subordinators occur in adverbial clauses—that is, in subordinate clauses that act as modifiers of verbs and sentences. By analogy with the term "complementizer," adverbial-clause subordinators are sometimes referred to as ADVERBIALIZERS, as in Schachter's (1985) cross-linguistic study of parts of speech. Innu-aimun has several adverbializers, including *iâ(pi)t* 'even if, even though,' *iât peikuan* 'even if, even though,' *mekuât* 'while,' *miâm* 'just as, just as though,' *nuâsh* 'until,' and *pâtush* 'until, unless,' all exemplified in (127). Other adverbializers include *ât* 'even if, as soon as' and *mâk ât* 'compared to.'

(127) a. *Nika kushpinân* [$_{CL}$ ***iât*** *tâkâtî*].
1.FUT go.inland.1P [$_{CL}$ even.if be.cold.CONJ.3S]
'We're going into the bush even if it's cold.' (WO 4-4-13)

b. [$_{CL}$ ***Iât peikuan*** *aieshkushîât*] *ninatauîtân.*
[$_{CL}$ even.though be.tired.CONJ.1P] 1.go.hunting.PRET.1P
'Even though we were tired, we went hunting.' (WO 1-6-12)

c. [$_{CL}$ ***Mekuât*** *nepât*] *nitshîtûte.*
[$_{CL}$ while IC.sleep.CONJ.3S] 1.leave.PRET.1S
'While he was asleep, I left.' (Clarke 1982: 145)

[52]Another explanation of (126) is possible, however. The intervention of a noun between *tshetshî* and the verb may be an occurrence of the insertion of outside material in the "loose point of linkage" between a preverb and the verb stem, as noted by Wolfart (1967) and suggested in Section 2.3.1 above. Further study is required in order to ascertain how frequently material intervenes between *tshetshî* and the verb stem. If such examples are frequent, it is likely that *tshetshî* has indeed been reanalyzed as a conjunction, while if they are rare, "loose-zone insertion" is more likely the cause.

d. [CL ***Miâm*** *uâ* *tshîtûteiân*] *matuetitâu.*
[CL just.as IC.VOLIT leave.CONJ.1S] call.3S
'Just as I was going to leave, he called.' (WO 4-4-6)

e. ... [CL ***nuâsh*** *tshe* *ishpish* *nipiân*].
[CL until IC.FUT extent die.CONJ.1S]
'... until I die.' (Hasler 2006: 20)

f. *Tshe* *tâin* [CL ***pâtush*** *aimitânî*].
IC.FUT be.CONJ.2S [CL until call.CONJ.1>2]
'Stay there until I call you.' (WO 3-4-44)

The grammatical properties of Innu-aimun adverbial clauses were briefly described in Section 8.4.1 above. As illustrated there (examples (99) and (101)), an adverbial clause may generally either precede or follow the main clause and does not constitute a separate obviation domain. It should be noted that most adverbializers serve other grammatical functions as well, as summarized in Table 8.2.

TABLE 8.2. Other functions of adverbializers

Adverbializer	Gloss	Other function	Gloss	Reference
iât	'even if, even though'	focus particle	'also, even'	§8.1.2
		conjunctive adverb	'nevertheless'	§8.4.6
mâk ât	'compared to'	preposition	'compared to'	§6.5
mekuât	'while'	conjunctive adverb	'meanwhile'	§8.4.6
miâm	'just as, just as though'	preposition	'just like'	§6.5
		manner adverb	'correctly'	§7.1.1
		degree adverb	'completely'	§7.1.2
nuâsh	'until'	preposition	'up to, as far as'	§6.3
pâtush	'until, unless'	relative-time adverb	'later'	§7.1.1

Innu-aimun has three additional items that may possibly be seen as adverbializers: *eshkᵘ ekâ* 'before,' *tshetshî* 'so that,' and *kâtshî* 'after.' The first of these items, *eshkᵘ ekâ*, is actually a combination of the adverb *eshkᵘ* 'still, yet' and the negator *ekâ*, together meaning 'not yet' or, more idiomatically, 'before,' as in (128).

(128) *Tshe* *aimîn* [CL ***eshkᵘ*** ***ekâ*** *tshîtûtein*].
IC.FUT call.CONJ.2>1 [CL yet NEG leave.CONJ.2S]
'Call me before you leave.' (lit. 'when you have not yet left') (WO 2-1-28)

Some younger speakers pronounce *eshkᵘ ekâ* as *eshkuâ*, as in (129). This suggests that the *eshkᵘ ekâ* sequence may have been grammaticalized as a subordinator meaning 'before.'

(129) [CL ***Eshkuâ*** *tshîtûtein*] *tshe* *aimîn.*
[CL before leave.CONJ.2S] IC.FUT call.CONJ.2>1
'Before you leave, call me.' (WO 4-2-69)

The other two possible adverbializers, *tshetshî* and *kâtshî*, are actually preverb combinations. In addition to its occurrence in irrealis complement clauses (§8.4.3), *tshetshî* is also found in adverbial clauses of purpose, as in (130a). *Kâtshî*, discussed in Section 2.3.2, occurs in adverbial clauses that are temporally anterior to the main clause, as in (130b).

(130) a. [...] *itûtâtîshû* *anite* [CL ***tshetshî*** *apishunitî*].
carry.things.3S the.LOC [CL so.that warm.up.3′]
'He carried his things there so they would warm up.' (LITP 2-1-008)

b. [CL ***Kâtshî*** *nipâiât* *nenua* *mashkua*], *peminutîshut.*
[CL after kill.3S>3′ that.3′ bear.3′] cook.REFL.3S
'After she killed the bear, she cooked for herself.' (LITP 2-2-006)

It was argued in Section 8.4.3 that complement-clause *tshetshî* may be susceptible to reanalysis as a complementizer. This reanalysis could take place because *tshetshî*, as a changed form, occurs only with conjunct verbs, which do not clearly demarcate the preverb slot with a person-marking prefix. By the same reasoning, it is also possible that adverbial-clause *tshetshî* may become reanalyzed as an adverbializer. This reasoning applies to *kâtshî* as well, since *kâtshî*, like *tshetshî*, contains the changed form of a preverb (*kâ*, the changed form of perfective *tshî*) and therefore occurs only with conjunct verbs. However, for the same reasons discussed for complement-clause *tshetshî* (fn. 52, p. 289), it is unclear whether this reanalysis has indeed taken place.

8.4.5. SENTENCE-INITIAL SUBORDINATORS. A sentence-initial subordinator is a particle that occurs exclusively in sentence-initial position and requires the following verb to be inflected in the conjunct order. Innu-aimun sentence-initial subordinators include *enûsh* 'it's the first time that,' *iâkuâ* 'be careful not to,' and *tshîmâ* 'if only, I wish that,' exemplified in (131).

(131) a. ***Enûsh*** *pushiân* *kâpimipanit.*
is.first.time go.on.trip.CONJ.1S airplane
'It's the first time I've gone on a plane.' (WO 1-13-11)

b. ***Iâkuâ*** *ushekushinin.*
be.careful.not.to get.hurt.CONJ.2S
'Be careful not to get hurt.' (WO 1-2-47)

c. ***Tshîmâ*** *pâssitet* *assî.*
I.wish catch.fire.CONJ.3S earth
'I wish the earth would catch fire.' (LITP 1-5-085)

These sentence-initial subordinators must be carefully distinguished from the asymmetrical coordinators *ek^{u}* and *ekue*, which may also occur sentence-initially and be followed by a conjunct verb, as in (132).

(132) ***Ek^{u}*** *tshâuepâtât.*
and.then IC.run.home.CONJ.3S
'Then, he ran home.' (LITP 2-4-039)

Unlike sentence-initial subordinators, however, *ek^{u}* and *ekue* do not occur exclusively in sentence-initial position. The sentence-initial example of *ek^{u}* in (132) is in fact a special case referred to as a "coordination fragment" in Section 8.4.2 above. In more canonical examples, *ek^{u}* and *ekue* serve to link two clauses in a full coordination structure, as in (133). Sentence-initial subordinators do not serve this function.

(133) [$_{S}$ *Tûtamûpanû* *mûkumânnû*] ***ek^{u}*** [$_{S}$ *uânameshet* *tâpue*].
[$_{S}$ make.hurriedly.3 knife.3'S] and.then [$_{S}$ IC.clean.fish.CONJ.3S indeed]
'He quickly made a knife and then, indeed, he cleaned the fish.' (LITP 2-4-052)

The sentence-initial subordinators in (131) are also semantically distinct from *ek^{u}* and *ekue*. While *ek^{u}* and *ekue* are translated simply using 'and' or 'and then,' the translations of sentence-initial subordinators all involve verbs.[53] In this respect, sentence-initial subordinators are quite similar to clefting words (discussed in Chapter 4), which also have verb-based translations. For comparison, an example of the clefting word *eukuan* 'it is (this/that)' is provided in (134).

[53]Given their verb-like semantics, it is tempting to analyze sentence-initial subordinators as a class of "particle verbs." Under this somewhat radical analysis, the clause following the particle verb would serve as its complement, thus explaining why a conjunct verb form is required.

(134) ***Eukuannû*** *tiâkunâk* *ne* *nâpeu.*
it.is.3′s IC.take.CONJ.3>3′ that man
'It's that one that the man took.' (LITP 3-3-035)

In addition to their verbal translations, sentence-initial subordinators and clefting words have other similarities. Both groups of words occur exclusively in sentence-initial position and always require the following clause to contain a conjunct verb. Syntactically, then, it seems that sentence-initial subordinators have much in common with clefting words. Morphologically, however, the two classes are distinct, as clefting words such as *eukuan* are declinable while sentence-initial subordinators are not.

8.4.6. CONJUNCTIVE ADVERBS. Conjunctive adverbs, also known as adverbial conjunctions, are items which serve to link a sentence with the preceding discourse (Crystal 1980), such as English *nevertheless*, *therefore*, and *for example*, as shown in (135).

(135) a. **Nevertheless**, we must remain vigilant.
b. The case is **therefore** closed.
c. **For example**, you could've gotten lost.

Innu-aimun conjunctive adverbs include *eshpa* 'however, on the other hand,' *iâpit* 'nevertheless,' *mâte* 'well then, for example,' *mekuât* 'meanwhile,' *tânite* 'however, besides,' and *utin* 'in that case, therefore.'[54] Examples of *mâte* and *utin* are provided in (136).

[54]Several conjunctive adverbs serve other functions as well. *Iâpit* also acts as a focus particle meaning 'also, even' (§8.1.2) and an adverbial-clause subordinator meaning 'even though, even if' (§8.4.4). *Tânite* also acts as an interrogative locative demonstrative meaning 'where' (§4.3) and a symmetrical coordinator meaning 'because' (§8.4.1). *Mekuât* also acts as an adverbial-clause subordinator meaning 'while' (§8.4.4).

(136) a. ***Mâte*** *itutâî* *anite,* *ekᵘ* *tshe* *nipâik.*
well.then take.IMP.2>1 the.LOC and IC.FUT kill.CONJ.1>3
'Well then, take me there now, and I will kill him.' (LITP 1-4-016)

b. *Utina* ***utin.***
take.IMP.2>3 in.that.case
'Take it, in that case.' (WO 1-2-64)

c. *Mâu, mâu, kie apû* ***utin*** *aimit.*
cry.3S cry.3S and NEG therefore talk.CONJ.3S
'He cried and cried, and therefore would not talk.' (LITP 4-3-277)

As examples (136a–b) illustrate, conjunctive adverbs differ from subordinators in that they are not obligatorily accompanied by a conjunct verb form.

8.4.7. CONCLUSION—CONJUNCTIONS. The classification of conjunctions proposed in this section is summarized in Figure 8.1. The diagrams included in this figure illustrate the syntactic configuration established by each type of conjunction. As the preceding discussion has demonstrated, the label "conjunction" is really only a cover term for a variety of grammatically distinct categories. A more sophisticated analysis of the precise nature of these categories must be left to future research.

8.5. INTERJECTIONS. An interjection is a word that may stand alone as a full, non-elliptical utterance (Ameka 1992; Wilkins 1992). A single interjection may serve as a complete turn in discourse (Hartmann 1999), as in the English examples in (137a). When an interjection occurs along with other material such as a sentence, the interjection remains grammatically and prosodically separate (Ameka 1992), as in the examples in (137b).

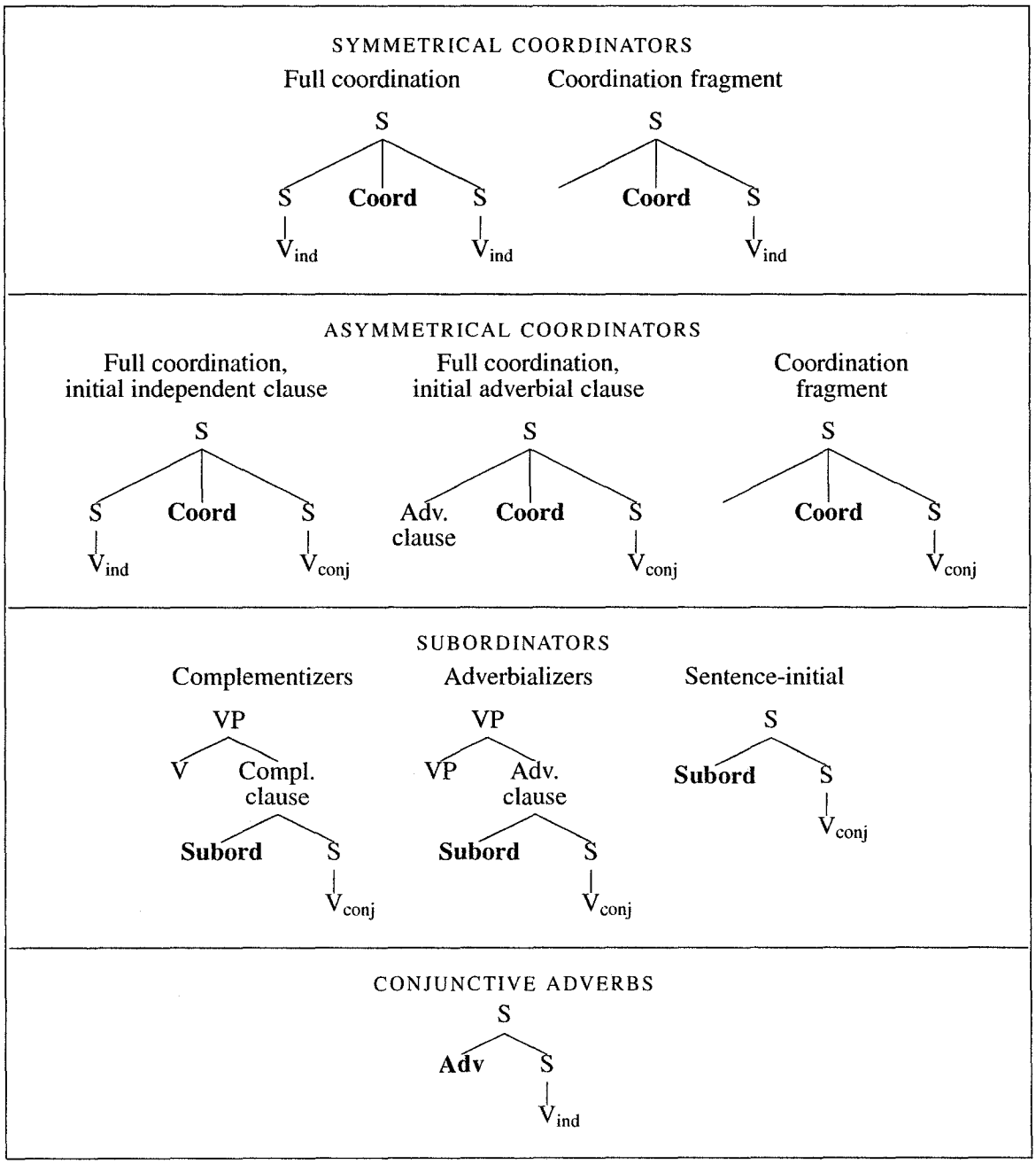


FIGURE 8.1. Classification of conjunctions

(137) a. (i) **Yes.**
(ii) **Wow!**
(iii) **Hello!**

b. (i) **Yes**, I would like some.
(ii) **Wow**, he didn't forget.
(iii) **Hello**, what's your name?

Since interjections are pragmatically, syntactically, and prosodically autonomous, they are sometimes referred to as "pro-sentences" (Morin 1985) or "sentence equivalents" (Hartmann 1999). Interjections serve a variety of semantic and pragmatic functions, as described by Kryk (1992), Wierzbicka (1992), and Blakemore (2002), among others. We may informally distinguish seven classes of interjections in Innu-aimun: (1) emotive interjections, (2) evaluative interjections, (3) imperative interjections, (4) response words, (5) interrogative tags, (6) routines, and (7) backchannel devices. The remainder of this section exemplifies each class in turn.

Emotive interjections (Ameka 1992; Wierzbicka 1992) express the speaker's emotions and sensations:

(138) ***aaa*** 'ahh'; ***mâ*** 'well!, oh!'; ***mashkâtât*** 'what a surprise!'; ***ueshâushâm*** 'oh my goodness!'; ***uuu*** 'ooh'

Evaluative interjections express the speaker's opinion:

(139) ***ekush*** 'it doesn't matter'; ***kîsh*** 'lucky!'; ***mekue*** 'too bad!'

Imperative interjections demand some action from the addressee:

(140) ***ashâkû*** 'get back'; ***eshkû*** 'wait a bit'; ***kuet*** 'come here' (spoken to a dog); ***mâ*** 'hark!, look!, see here!'; ***mâtshî*** 'go ahead'; ***petute*** 'come here'

Response words (Ameka 1999), also known as answer particles (Hartmann 1999), serve as answers to yes/no questions:

(141) ***ehe*** 'yes'; ***mâuât*** 'no'

Interrogative tags serve as "pro-questions," seeking approval, confirmation, or clarification:

(142) ***âue*** 'OK? eh?'; ***tshiâ*** 'right?, is that so?'

Routines, also known as formulae, are conventionalized expressions used for particular social purposes such as greeting and leave-taking (Columas 1981; Ameka 1992).

(143) ***pûshû*** 'hello'; ***kuei*** 'hello'; ***aiâme*** 'goodbye'; ***niâut*** 'goodbye'

Finally, backchannel devices such as English *mhm* and *right* serve to give a speaker feedback without interrupting his or her conversational turn (Yngve 1970). In Innu-aimun, the response word *ehe* 'yes' and the clefting word *eukuan* 'that's it') are also commonly used as backchannel devices. In this function, *ehe* indicates 'yes, I follow' (like English *mhm*), while *eukuan* indicates 'that's sufficient, I understand' (like English *right*).

8.6. CONCLUSION. The classification of minor categories proposed in this chapter is summarized in Figure 8.2.

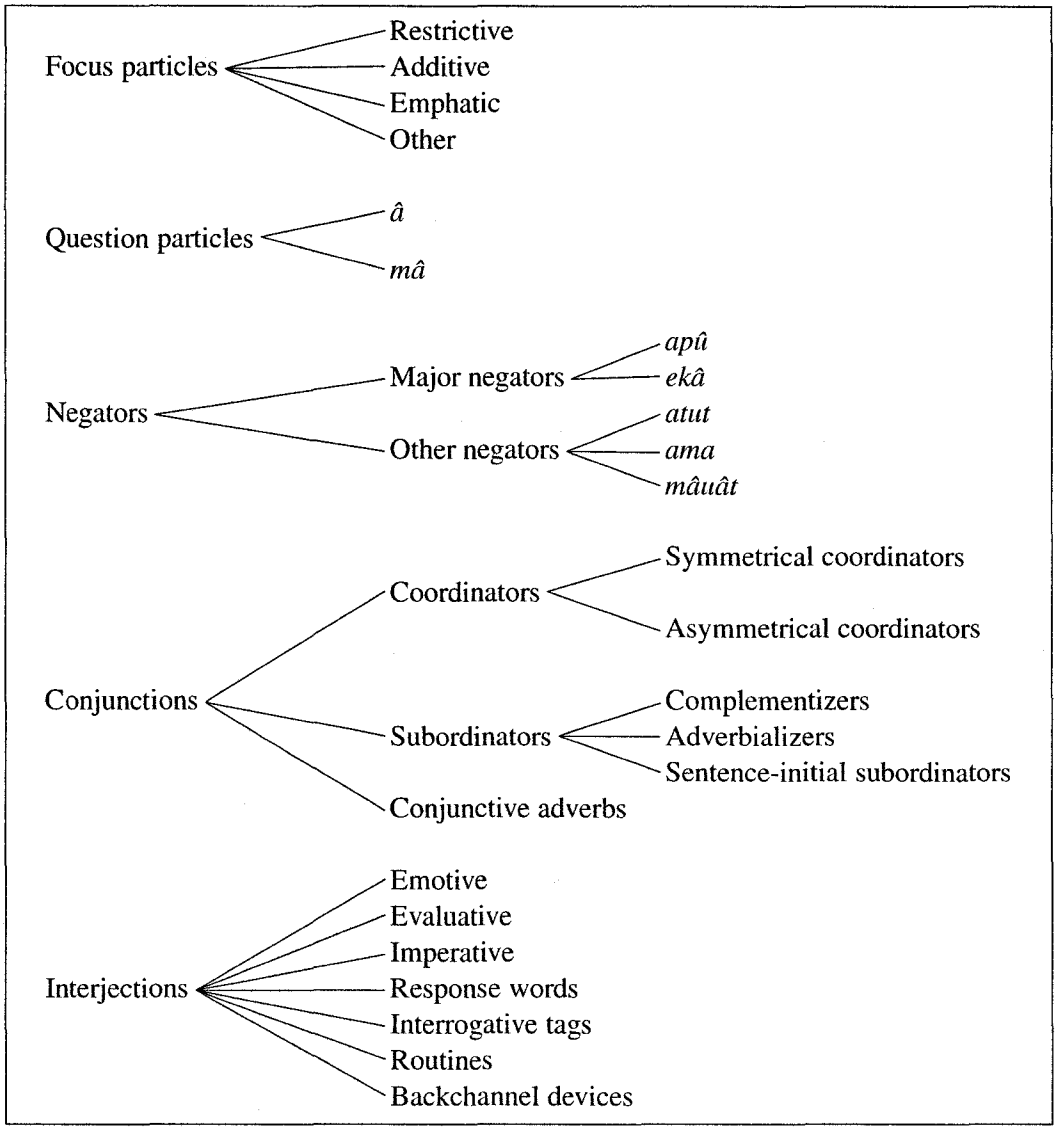


FIGURE 8.2. Classification of minor categories

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This thesis has proposed and defended a classification scheme for Innu-aimun particles, and, in the process, has described the grammatical properties that distinguish each class. The following sections summarize the classification scheme (§9.1), discuss certain recurring grammatical properties (§9.2), and consider the issues that remain to be addressed in future research (§9.3).

9.1. SUMMARY OF THESIS. After the introductory material provided in Chapters 1 and 2, the first two categories examined in this thesis did not, in fact, involve particles at all. Chapter 3 described the class of pronouns and demonstratives—or, more precisely, nominal function words—which contains declinable items that occur within the noun phrase (*nîn* 'me,' *auen* 'someone,' *ne* 'that'). Chapter 4 examined "clefting words," an ad-hoc term referring to items that have properties of pronouns, verbs, and conjunctions combined (*eukuan* 'it is (this/that),' *namaieu* 'it is not'). Although both of these categories contain declinable items, their close grammatical similarities with particles made it necessary to discuss them in this thesis.

The description and analysis of particles began in Chapter 5, which examined adnominal particles, a cover term for particles that occur within the noun phrase. Two major classes

of adnominal particles were identified: adjectives (*peikutâu* 'same,' *mâshten* 'last') and quantifiers, which were divided into three subcategories: non-numeral quantifiers (*kassinû* 'all'), numeral quantifiers (*patetât* 'five'), and incorporated-noun quantifiers. The latter subcategory was further divided into measure-word quantifiers (*nîshuemîkuân* 'two spoonfuls'), classificatory quantifiers (*nîshuâshkᵘ* 'two stick-like things'), nominal quantifiers (*nîshuâpiss* 'two dollars'), and adverbial quantifiers (*nîshupîshimua* 'for two months').

Chapter 6 examined prepositions and other locative categories. It first discussed locative-inflected nominals, a class that includes locative demonstratives (*nete* 'there, to/at that') and locative nouns (*mîtshuâpît* 'to/at the house'). A group of "exclusively locative" nouns, which lack non-locative counterparts, was also recognized (*minâshkuât* 'in the woods'). The next class, locative prepositions, contains two distinct subcategories: simple locative prepositions (*âkû* 'hidden behind'), which may take a locative NP as their complement, and incorporated-noun prepositions (*âkûâkunât* 'hidden behind a snowbank'), whose complement occurs as an incorporated nominal morpheme. As discussed in the chapter, locative prepositions have many properties in common with locative-inflected nouns. Finally, a small class of "functional prepositions," which take non-locative NP complements, was also noted (*miâm* 'like').

Adverbs, the topic of Chapter 7, were examined from both semantic and syntactic perspectives. Using semantic criteria, adverbs were divided into three basic classes: circumstantial adverbs, degree adverbs (*nâsht* 'completely,' *apishîsh* 'a little'), and modal adverbs (*pût* 'probably,' *usht* 'intentionally'). The class of circumstantial adverbs is particularly large, as it contains manner adverbs (*metinû* 'slowly'), spatial adverbs (*mâmen* 'here and there'), temporal adverbs (*nânitam* 'always'), and spatial/temporal adverbs (*mâmû* 'to-

gether'). A group of "bare-NP adverbs," which seem to be nominal in nature, was also noted (*nîpinut* 'last summer'). From a syntactic perspective, two basic classes of adverbs were distinguished: VP/sentence adverbs and degree modifiers.

Chapter 8 discussed the remaining classes of particles: focus particles, question particles, negators, conjunctions, and interjections, referred to collectively as "minor categories" because of the small number of words in each class. Focus particles fall into three major semantic groups: restrictive (*muk*^{u} 'only'), additive (*iât* 'also, even'), and emphatic (*uîn*); they are also distinguished by syntactic and phonological factors. The classes of question particles and negators both contain only a handful of items. The class of conjunctions is somewhat more complex, and may be divided into symmetrical coordinators (*kie* 'and'), asymmetrical coordinators (*ekue* 'and so, and then'), complementizers (*tshetshî* 'whether'), adverbializers (*mekuât* 'while'), sentence-initial subordinators (*tshîmâ* 'I wish'), and conjunctive adverbs (*eshpa* 'however'). Finally, the class of interjections contains words that may stand alone as non-elliptical utterances (*ehe* 'yes,' *kuei* 'hello').

Although the grammatical properties of each category were carefully described, there are no doubt other important patterns that remain to be documented. Nevertheless, the classification scheme presented in this thesis is comprehensive enough to accommodate—at least tentatively—nearly all attested Innu-aimun particles, as shown in the glossary of particles and function words provided in the Appendix. The major divisions of the classification scheme are summarized in Table 9.1. For more detail, refer to the diagrams given at the end of each chapter of the thesis.

DECLINABLE		
Nominal function words	Pronouns	Personal pronouns
		Indefinite pronouns
	Demonstratives	
	Adjectives (nominal)	
Exclusively locative nouns (a subclass of nouns)		
Clefting words (have properties of pronouns, verbs, and conjunctions)		
INDECLINABLE (PARTICLES)		
Adnominal particles	Adjectives (particle)	
	Quantifiers	Non-numeral quantifiers
		Numeral quantifiers
		Incorporated-noun quantifiers
Prepositions	Locative prepositions	Simple locative prepositions
		Incorporated-noun prepositions
	Functional prepositions	
Adverbs	Circumstantial adverbs	Manner adverbs
		Spatial adverbs
		Temporal adverbs
	Degree adverbs	
	Modal adverbs	
Focus particles	Restrictive focus particles	
	Additive focus particles	
	Emphatic focus particles	
Question particles		
Negators		
Conjunctions	Coordinators	Symmetrical coordinators
		Asymmetrical coordinators
	Subordinators	Complementizers
		Adverbializers
		Sentence-initial subordinators
	Conjunctive adverbs	
Interjections		

TABLE 9.1. Classification of categories discussed in this thesis

9.2. RECURRING GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS. While most of the grammatical properties discussed in this thesis are specific to particular categories, certain more general patterns have also emerged. Perhaps the most striking recurring pattern is the process I have referred to as "pre-verbal dislocation," in which a function word—or sometimes a sequence of function words—appears before the verb, while the lexical phrase it accompanies occurs sentence-finally. Examples of this pattern are provided in (1).

(1) a. Det + ... + NP

Nete *nititûtetân* ***tshâinîsh-mîtshishûtshûapît.***
that.LOC 1.go.PRET.1P Chinese-restaurant.LOC

'We went to the Chinese restaurant.' (WO 4-2-3)

b. Q + ... + NP

Shâsh ***kassinû*** *matâpeuat* *anite* ***innuat.***
already all arrive.from.country.3P the.LOC person.3P

'All the Innu had already come there from the country.' (LITP 4-2-078)

c. Det + P + ... + NP

Anite ***âkû*** *tâuat* ***mishtikûtît.***
the.LOC behind be.3P box.LOC

'They're behind the box.' (WO 4-3-1)

d. Deg + ... + NP

Miâm *nuepimiten* ***akâmi-shîpît.***
completely 1.throw.3>3′ across.river

'I threw it right across the river.' (WO 2-2-13)

e. F + ... + NP

Muk *pîtutepanû* ***nânâ*** ***auâss.***
only go.in.3S that.ABS child

'Only the child went inside.' (LITP 4-3-250)

As already discussed, Reinholtz (1999) has documented the same pattern in Swampy Cree, arguing that it arises when the function word moves into a pre-verbal focus position.[1] In Section 8.1.1, however, it was suggested that in Innu-aimun, the pattern may be derived in exactly the opposite manner—underlyingly, the entire phrase may occupy the pre-verbal position, with the discontinuity arising due to either Heavy-NP Shift or discontinuous spell-out. Theoretical issues aside, the pattern shown in (1) is quite widespread and contributes significantly to the fluidity of Innu-aimun word order.

Another recurring pattern is the exceptional grammatical behaviour often exhibited by items that occupy sentence-initial position. Some grammatical exceptions involving initial position are listed in (2).

(2) a. A sentence-initial adverbial locative noun may occur without an accompanying locative demonstrative; in other positions, the demonstrative is required (§6.2.2).

b. In at least certain cases, a sentence-initial locative NP cannot be interpreted as a complement of the verb, unlike locative NPs in other positions (§6.2.2).

c. In sentence-initial position, a preposition often precedes the accompanying locative demonstrative; in other positions, the reverse order is the default (§6.3.2).

d. Sentence-initial adverb sequences are freely ordered; in other positions, the same adverbs are rigidly ordered (§7.2.1).

e. Sentence-initial NPs appear to be ignored by the rule that places the question particle *â* in second position (§8.2.1).

[1]Note that in Swampy Cree, the process affects a more limited range of constituents than in Innu-aimun.

As discussed in each case, these exceptions are likely due to the presence of a special topic/focus position on the left periphery of the clause. The movement of a constituent into this position may disrupt the default word order, as in (2c–d). The topic/focus position also seems somewhat structurally isolated from the grammatical "core" of the sentence, thus exempting the fronted constituent from grammatical relationships and constraints that would otherwise affect it, as in (2a,b,e).

While interesting research questions arise from all of the individual categories discussed in this thesis, these recurring patterns are particularly important, as their effects cut across category boundaries. The generality of these patterns indicates that fundamental properties of Innu-aimun syntax are at play.

9.3. ISSUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH. Although this thesis has documented a wide range of categories and patterns, it is still only a first step towards understanding the grammar of Innu-aimun particles. The basic grammatical description remains to be fleshed out in several ways—many of the proposals require more extensive data in order to be fully justified, many vague statements could be made much more precise, and, no doubt, many facts are still to be discovered. Nevertheless, the thesis should be a useful reference for future work in this area, as it provides researchers with a description of the basic properties of any given particle and indicates how that particle fits into the broader grammatical system.

Aside from these purely grammatical considerations, the issue of language variation, largely ignored in this thesis, also requires future attention. Since this thesis has focused on the Innu-aimun spoken in Sheshatshiu, the degree to which its findings accurately describe other Innu-aimun dialects is an open question. Even within the Sheshatshiu dialect,

the issue of sociolinguistic variation is an important one, as discussed by Clarke (1987). Further investigation in this area would no doubt clarify cases in which different speakers have provided contradictory grammaticality judgments.

It would also be worthwhile to compare the particles of Innu-aimun with their counterparts in other Algonquian languages. However, until further strides are made in the study of comparative Algonquian syntax, such a comparison will be limited mainly to phonological, morphological, and semantic properties.

Finally, from a practical perspective, the results of this thesis are relevant to the development of Innu-aimun dictionaries and reference grammars. Although the classification scheme presented here contains far more technical detail than is needed for most practical purposes, it provides a solid, well-justified analytical framework that may subsequently be simplified for practical and pedagogical use.

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APPENDIX

A GLOSSARY OF INNU-AIMUN PARTICLES AND FUNCTION WORDS

This glossary illustrates how the classification scheme presented in this thesis may be applied to the LabLex dictionary database.[2] The glossary is intended to allow readers who are familiar with Innu-aimun to see how any given particle or function word fits into the classification scheme. All words listed as particles in LabLex are included here, as well as other closely-related categories such as pronouns, demonstratives, and preverbs.

Note that this glossary is not a full-fledged dictionary. Although it provides a translation for each lexical item, these translations should not be taken as authoritative or exhaustive. The glossary is intended only as an illustration of the classification scheme, not as a more general reference source. Furthermore, as the glossary contains items from the LabLex database only, particles that are unique to other Innu-aimun dialects are not included.[3]

Many of the classifications in this glossary are provisional and are subject to change as more detailed data becomes available. The classification of locative prepositions, incorporated-noun prepositions, exclusively locative nouns, and spatial adverbs is particularly

[2]The LabLex database was discussed in Section 1.4.

[3]There is one exception to this statement. Certain particles in LabLex appear only in the diminutive form. In such cases, the corresponding non-diminutive form from the Betsiamites dialect is also included.

tentative, as these categories are determined by detailed morphological and syntactic properties which cannot always be ascertained from the limited data that is currently available. Words whose classification is especially uncertain are marked with an asterisk.

The glossary uses the following conventions. Items that carry inflection are listed only in their morphologically unmarked form. Diminutive forms are listed as "*dim.*" following the corresponding non-diminutive form. Certain common collocations such as *apû shûk* 'not very' are included and are classified as "fixed expressions." Finally, incorporated-noun quantifiers such as *nîshuminâkan* 'two gallons' are included only for the roots *peiku-* 'one' and *nîshu-* 'two,' as forms involving higher numerals are predictable.

A

â *question particle* forms yes-no question

ai *demonstrative (hesitation)* 'uh, what's-its-name'

âiâkuâshkû *incorporated-noun preposition* 'hidden behind a tree'

aiâme *interjection (routine)* 'goodbye'

âiânishkât *temporal adverb (absolute-time)* 'in the next generation'

âiâshkû *manner adverb* 'one after the other, progressively'

âiâshû *manner adverb* 'one after another, in succession'

âiât *degree adverb (booster)* 'more and more'

âiâtît *non-numeral quantifier* 'certain people'

âie *noun (vocative)* 'dear, sweetie' (term of affection for spouse, boyfriend, girlfriend)

âikam *modal adverb (volitional)* 'unwillingly, reluctantly, grudgingly'

âishkat *temporal adverb (absolute-time)* 'in the future' (*dim.* **âishkatshîsh**)

âitû *locative preposition* 'on both sides'

âitûkâm *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on both sides of a space'

âitûshkanau *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on both sides of the road/path'

âitûshkuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on both sides of the doorway'

âiûshtâkushît *bare-NP adverb* 'the day before yesterday'

akâm *locative preposition* 'on the other side'

akâmâpishk^{u} *incorporated-noun preposition* 'the mountain or cliff directly across'

akâmasset *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at/to the other side of the swamp'

akâmeshkanau *incorporated noun preposition* 'at/to the other side of the road'

akâmi-shâkaikan *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at/to the other side of the lake'

akâmi-shîpîss *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at/to the other side of the creek/stream'

akâmi-shîpû, akâmi-shîpît *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at/to the other side of the river'

akâmishkuteu *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at/to the other side of the fire'

akâmît *locative preposition* 'at/to the other side'

akâmitshikamît *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at/to the other side of the ocean, of a large body of water'

âkû *locative preposition* 'hidden behind'

âkutâuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'out of sight behind or beyond a mountain or hill'

an *demonstrative (neutral)* 'that, the, it (is)'

anem *non-numeral quantifier* 'many, a lot' (*dim.* **anemâshîsh**)

ânishk^{u} *spatial adverb* 'touching, contiguous, physically one after another'

anita *demonstrative (neutral, locative case)* 'right there, right at/to the, right at/to that'

anite *demonstrative (neutral, locative case)* 'there, at/to the, at/to that'

anitehî *demonstrative (locative case)* 'right there, right here'

anû *degree adverb (booster)* 'more, additional'

anûtshîsh *temporal adverb (absolute-time)* 'now, at present, today'

âpam *locative preposition* 'on the other side, behind an obstacle which must be travelled around'

âpamâkunat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'behind a snowbank'

âpamâpiss *incorporated-noun preposition* 'behind a rock, a metal/mineral object'

âpamâut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'behind a sandbank'

âpamishet *incorporated-noun preposition* 'behind a cliff'

âpamishkuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'behind the door'

apishîsh *degree adverb (diminisher)* 'a little, a bit'

âpîtâshkanau *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along the road/path'

âpîtâtakut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along the length of the canoe'

apitû *locative preposition* 'halfway along'

âpîtuâmatin *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway up the side of the mountain'

âpîtuâmiss *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a sandy beach, a stretch of gravel'

âpîtuâpet *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a metal or mineral object'

âpîtuâpushteu *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway through a burned-over area'

âpîtuâshkᵘ *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a stick-like object'

âpîtuâshtat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a conifer branch/bough'

âpîtuâtakᵘ *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the middle of the canoe'

âpituâtshûn *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a rapids'

âpîtuâukun *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the middle of the back(bone)'

âpîtuâushkum *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway across a frozen lake'

âpîtuâut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway across a stretch of sand'

âpîtuet *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a piece of cloth, a sheetlike object'

âpîtûkâm *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along the lake'

âpîtûkât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway up the leg'

âpîtûnû *incorporated-noun preposition* 'to the middle of the body'

âpîtûpitun *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along the arm'

apîtûpun *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway through the winter'

âpîtushet *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a rocky cliff'

âpîtûshkanau *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along the road'

âpîtûsset *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along the swamp'

âpîtussut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a stretch of mud'

âpîtutatît *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a piece of wood, halfway up a wooden building'

âpîtutâut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along a slope'

âpîtu-uâshâu *incorporated-noun preposition* 'halfway along the bay'

apû *negator* 'not'

apû shûkᵘ *fixed expression* 'not really, not much'

ashâ *spatial/temporal adverb* 'backwards, from back to front, beginning at the end'

ashâkû *interjection (imperative)* 'get back!'

ashetâme *spatial adverb* 'retracing one's steps'

ashit* *conjunction (subcategory unknown)* 'with, and, at the same time'

ashkᵘ *manner adverb* 'suddenly, immediately'

âshkᵘ* 1 *conjunction (subcategory unknown)* 'as'; **2** *manner adverb* 'one by one, in succession'

âshtamâkan *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the cheek'

âshtamâkunat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the side of a snowbank/snow-covered mountain'

âshtamapakᵘ *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the wall of the tent'

âshtamâpiss *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the face of the rock'

âshtamâshk^{u} *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the side of a wooded mountain'

âshtamâshtat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in front of a wall of brushwood'

âshtamâssikan *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the front of a person, on the chest'

âshtamâssût *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the side of a mud bank'

âshtamatâut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the side of a hill'

ashtamâuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the side of the mountain/sand dune'

âshtamâuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the face of the mountain'

âshtameu *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the opposite bank of the river in the middle of the next bend'

âshtamishet *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the side of a rocky cliff'

âshtamîtat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the wall'

âshtamite **1** *spatial adverb* 'less far'; **2** *degree adverb (diminisher)* 'less'; **3** *interjection* 'come here!'

ât *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'as soon as, even if'

âta* *conjunction (subcategory unknown)* 'even if'

âtakâm *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the other side of an impassable stretch of water' (*dim.* **âtakâmishîsh**)

atâmâkunat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'under the snow'

atâmatâuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'under the earth, underground, in the ground'

atâmâuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'under the sand'

atâmipekut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'underwater'

atâmît *locative preposition* 'in, at the bottom, under'

atut *negator* 'probably not'

âuât *focus particle (additive)* 'even'

âue *interjection (interrogative tag)* 'okay?, eh?'

auen **1** *indefinite pronoun* 'someone'; **2** *clefting word (interrogative)* 'who is it'

E

ehe **1** *interjection (response word)* 'yes'; **2** *interjection (backchannel device)* 'mhm'

eiâpit *temporal adverb (aspectual)* 'still'

ekâ *negator* 'not'

ekâ pitamâ *fixed expression* 'not now'

ekû *interjection (imperative)* 'let's go'

ek^{u} 1 *conjunction (symmetrical coordinator)* 'and'; **2** *conjunction (asymmetrical coordinator)* 'and then, and so'

ekuana* *conjunction (sentence-initial subordinator)* 'there they go who'

ekue *conjunction (asymmetrical coordinator)* 'and then, and so, then'

ekush 1 *focus particle* 'instead'; **2** *interjection (evaluative)* 'it doesn't matter'

ekut* *clefting word (locative case)* 'it is here/there that, this/that is where'

ekute *clefting word (locative case)* 'it is here/there that, this/that is where'

enakâm *locative preposition* 'on this side of a space'

enât *locative preposition* 'downstairs, below'

enuet *focus particle* 'at least'

enûsh *conjunction (sentence-initial subordinator)* 'it's the first time that'

eshakuma *temporal adverb (frequency)* 'every time, each time'

eshk^{u} *temporal adverb (aspectual)* 'again, still, yet, later'

eshku-pâushtikut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'right at the rapids, falls'

eshpa *conjunctive adverb* 'however, on the other hand'

etatû *degree adverb (booster)* 'more'

eukuan 1 *clefting word* 'it is this/that, that's it'; **2** *interjection (backchannel device)* 'well then, that's good'

I

iâkuâ *conjunction (sentence-initial subordinator)* 'be careful that you don't'

iâmâ *degree adverb (booster)* 'more and more'

iâ(pi)t 1 *focus particle (additive)* 'even, also'; **2** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'although'; **3** *conjunctive adverb* 'nevertheless, in any case'

în *modal adverb (epistemic)* 'this time for sure'

ishkanipuna *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'all year around, all winter'

ishkanitipishkâua *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'all night long'

ishkanitshîshikua *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'all day long'

ishkuâiet *temporal adverb (absolute-time)* 'at the end of the month'

ishpimît *exclusively locative noun* 'up, above' (*dim.* **ishpimishîsh**)

ishpimîtakût *exclusively locative noun* 'upstairs, top floor'

ishpish *preverb* extent 'so much as, as long as, the extent to which' (*changed form* **eshpish**)

ite *spatial adverb* 'here, there'

itetshe *locative preposition* 'in the direction of, on the side of' (*dim.* **itetsheshîsh**)

K

ka *preverb* future tense (*changed form* **tshe**)

kanapua *modal adverb (epistemic)* 'definitely, for sure'

kâshikât *II verb, changed conjunct form* 'today, in the daytime' (*lit.* 'when it is day,' *from II verb* **tshîshikâu** 'it is day')

kassinû *non-numeral quantifier* 'all, every'

kâtâ *interjection (imperative)* 'wait'

kâtâk^{u} *spatial adverb* 'far away' (*dim.* **kâtâkueshîsh**)

kâtshî 1 *preverb* completive aspect 'after, having completed' (*combination of preverbs* **kâ** [<**tshî**] + **tshî**); **2** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'after, having completed'

kâu *spatial/temporal adverb* 'back'

kie 1 *focus particle (additive)* 'too, also, as well'; **2** *conjunction (symmetrical coordinator)* 'and, with'

kie mâ *conjunction (symmetrical coordinator)* 'or'

kueshtakâm *locative preposition* 'at/to the other side of (e.g. lake)'

kueshte *locative preposition* 'at/to the other side, over'

kueshtetshe *locative preposition* 'at/to the other side, over' (*dim.* **kueshtetsheshîsh**)

kueshtetsheshkamît *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the other side of the world'

kueshtikueshte *locative preposition* 'on one side and on the other, from side to side'

kuessîpan *manner adverb* 'someone's turn, in turn'

kuetû *manner adverb* 'at the end of one's resources'

kuishk^{u} *manner adverb* 'directly, straightforwardly, correctly'

kutak *adjective (nominal)* 'other'

kutuâsht *numeral quantifier* 'six'

kutuâsht-tâtunnû *numeral quantifier* 'sixty'

kutunnû *numeral quantifier* 'ten'

kutunnu âshu peik^{u} *numeral quantifier* 'eleven'

M

mâ 1 *focus particle (emphatic)* expresses emphasis or unexpectedness; **2** *question particle* forms rhetorical question; **3** *interjection (imperative)* 'hark!, look!, see here!'

mâk *conjunction (symmetrical coordinator)* 'and, with'

mâk ât 1 *functional preposition* 'than, compared to'; **2** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'compared to'

mâmâmîshkut *manner adverb* 'in turns, alternating' (*redup. of* **mâmîshkut**)

mâmanât *manner adverb* 'always carefully, stingily' (*redup. of* **manât**)

mâmâsh *manner adverb* 'in any old way, sloppily, roughly' (*dim.* **mâmâshîsh**)

mamen *spatial adverb* 'here and there, in places'

mâmîshkut *manner adverb* 'one after the other, in succession' (*redup. of* **mîshkut**)

mâmît *exclusively locative noun* 'downstream' (*dim.* **mâmishît, mâmishîsh**)

mâmîtshetuâit *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'in different ways from each other' (*redup. of* **mîtshetuâit**)

mâmû *spatial/temporal adverb* 'all together'

manâkᵘ *interjection (emotive)* exclamation of surprise

manât *manner adverb* 'with care, with stinginess'

mân(i) **1** *temporal adverb (frequency)* 'from time to time, sometimes, occasionally, once in a while'; **2** *temporal adverb (aspectual)* 'habitually, still'

mânitâ *question particle* 'have you (ever)' (**mâ + nîtâ**)

mâshten *adjective (particle)* 'last'

mâte *conjunctive adverb* 'for example'

mâtshî *interjection (imperative)* 'go ahead'

matshiteueiâpiss *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at the long rocky point'

matshiteueiâut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at the long sandy point'

mâuât **1** *interjection (response word)* 'no'; **2** *negator* 'not'

mâushakᵘ *spatial/temporal adverb* 'in piles, all at once'

mekuât **1** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'while'; **2** *conjunctive adverb* 'meanwhile'

mekue *interjection (evaluative)* 'too bad!'

meshekût *focus particle (restrictive)* 'mostly'

meshuetshen *degree adverb (minimizer)* 'a lot less, not at all'

metîkât *manner adverb* 'quietly, softly, without noise' (*dim.* **metîkâtshîsh**)

metinû *manner adverb* 'slowly, without haste'

miâm **1** *functional preposition* 'just like'; **2** *manner adverb* 'correctly, right'; **3** *degree adverb (maximizer)* 'completely, right'; **4** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'just as though, just when'

minâshkuât *exclusively locative noun* 'in the country, bush, woods'

minâush *degree adverb (minimizer)* 'hardly, scarcely, barely'

minekâsh *temporal adverb (durational)* 'for a long time' (*dim.* **minekâshîsh**)

mînuât *temporal adverb (aspectual)* 'again, once more'

minushkamît *bare-NP adverb* 'last spring (when new growth appeared)'

mipuâ *modal adverb (evidential)* 'obviously'

mishitue *locative preposition* 'everywhere, all over the surface'

mishitueshkamît *incorporated-noun preposition* 'everywhere on the earth'

mîshkû *modal adverb (evaluative)* 'by chance'

mîshkut 1 *manner adverb* 'in return, in exchange'; **2** *focus particle* 'instead'

mishtâiûshiminushkam *bare-NP adverb* 'the spring before last (when new growth appeared)'

mishtâiûshînîpin *bare-NP adverb* 'the summer before last'

mishtâiûshipipun *bare-NP adverb* 'the winter before last'

mishtâiûshitakuâk^{u} *bare-NP adverb* 'the autumn before last'

mishû* *conjunction (subcategory unknown)* 'provided that, so long as'

mîtâkue *spatial adverb* 'set back, recessed'

mite* *classification unknown* 'alone after the others have left'

mîtshet *non-numeral quantifier* 'many, lots'

mîtshet-tâtumitâshumitanû *numeral quantifier* 'many hundreds'

mîtshet-tâtutshishemitâshumitanû *numeral quantifier* 'many thousands'

mîtshetuait *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'in many ways'

mîtshetuâu *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'many times, often'

mitshim *spatial adverb* 'in place, in the same place'

mitshimâ* 1 *spatial adverb* 'in the same place'; **2** *focus particle (emphatic)* 'this same thing'

mituât *modal adverb (epistemic)* 'probably'

mueshtash *temporal adverb (relative time)* 'late, after the fact, too late'

muet* *conjunction (sentence-initial subordinator)* 'so why not'

muk^{u} 1 *focus particle* 'only, just'; **2** *conjunction (symmetrical coordinator)* 'but'

muk^{u} âiât *degree adverb (booster)* 'more and more'

mûsh *temporal adverb (frequency)* 'often, regularly'

mûshe *manner adverb* 'openly, uncovered'

mûsheiâshkûpitun *manner adverb* 'bare-armed'

mûshepishkun *manner adverb* 'bare-backed'

mûsheshkat *manner adverb* 'bare, naked, nude'

mûshetshiss *manner adverb* 'bare-bottomed'

mûshtâkûnât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the snow'

mûshtânâût *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the sand'

mûshtâpiss *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the rock, on the metal surface'

mûshtâshkamît *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the ground'

mûshtâshtât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the floor covering of boughs'

mûshtishik^{u} *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the ice'

mûshtîtat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the floor'

N

nakanâshîsh *temporal adverb (frequency)* 'habitually, usually, always'

namaieu *clefting word (negative)* 'it's not'

namaieu(ku)te *clefting word (negative, locative case)* 'it's not there that, that's not where'

nâmûn *locative preposition* 'downwind, easterly' (*dim.* **nâmûshîsh**)

nânâ *demonstrative (inaccessible)* 'that (out of sight, dead)'

nâneuâutâtuâu *numeral quantifier* 'four by four' (*apparent redup. of unattested form* **neuâutâtuâu**)

nâneu *locative preposition* 'along the shore' (*dim.* **nâneueshîsh**)

nânikutinî *temporal adverb (frequency)* 'sometimes, occasionally'

nanim *locative preposition* 'upwind, northerly' (*dim.* **nanimishîsh**)

nânîsh^{u} *numeral quantifier* 'two by two, two each' (*redup. of* **nîsh^{u}**)

nânitam *temporal adverb (frequency)* 'always'

nânitû *degree adverb (approximator)* 'nearly, approximately, about'

napate *locative preposition* 'on one side'

napatekâm *incorporated-noun preposition* 'one side of a river, lake tent' (*dim.* **napatekâmishîsh**)

napateshkanau *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on one side of the road'

nâshik^{u} *spatial adverb* 'low down, at a lower level'

nâshipetimît *exclusively locative noun* 'on the shore, on the bank, beach'

nâshpit *degree adverb (minimizer)* 'not at all'

nâsht *degree modifier (maximizer)* 'quite, completely, really'

nâtakâm *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the shore, on the bank' (*dim.* **nâtakâmishîsh**)

nâtakâshk^{u} *incorporated-noun preposition* 'near the shore on the ice'

natamik^{u} *adjective (particle)* 'any'

natamît *exclusively locative noun* 'upstream, above a water course' (*dim.* **natamishîsh**)

nâtshe *temporal adverb (absolute-time)* 'in a while' (*dim.* **nâtsheshîsh**)

nâtshetâuâkâm *incorporated-noun preposition* 'a good distance from shore, near the middle' (*dim.* **nâtshetâuâkamîss**)

nâtshetâuâtshûn *incorporated-noun preposition* 'out in the current'

natshishk *temporal adverb (durational)* 'indefinitely, forever'

nauashî *demonstrative (remote)* 'that (over there)'

nâute *demonstrative (remote, locative case)* 'over there, over at/to that'

nâutehî *demonstrative (remote, locative case)* 'right over there, right over at/to that'

ne *demonstrative (distal)* 'that'

neta *demonstrative (distal, locative case)* 'right there, right at/to that'

nete *demonstrative (distal, locative case)* 'there, at/to that'

netehî *demonstrative (distal, locative case)* 'right there, right at/to that'

neu *numeral quantifier* 'four'

neuait *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'in four ways'

neuâu *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'four times'

neumitâshumitannû *numeral quantifier* 'four hundred'

neunnû *numeral quantifier* 'forty'

neutshishemitâshumitannû *numeral quantifier* 'four thousand'

niâte *demonstrative (remote, locative case)* 'over there, over at/to that'

nîkân* *spatial/temporal adverb* 'in front, in future'

nîn *personal pronoun (first-person singular)* 'I, me, my, mine'

nînân *personal pronoun (first-person plural exclusive)* 'we, us, our, ours (not including you)'

nîpinut *bare*-NP *adverb* 'last summer'

nishkue *spatial adverb* 'on the way'

nîshtam *temporal adverb (relative time)* 'first, in the first place'

nishtuait *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'in three ways'

nishtuâu *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'three times'

nishtumitâshumitannû *numeral quantifier* 'three hundred'

nishtunnû *numeral quantifier* 'thirty'

nishtutshishemitâshumitannû *numeral quantifier* 'three thousand'

nisht^{u} *numeral quantifier* 'three'

nîsh^{u} *numeral quantifier* 'two'

nîshuait *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'in two ways'

nîshuâpet *incorporated-noun quantifier (classificatory)* 'two string-like things'

nîshuâpiss *incorporated-noun quantifier (nominal)* 'two dollars'

nîshuâshk^{u} *incorporated-noun quantifier (classificatory)* 'two stick-like things'

nîshuâsht *numeral quantifier* 'seven'

nîshuâsht-tâtunnû *numeral quantifier* 'seventy'

nîshuâtâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two barrelfuls'

nîshuâu *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'twice'

nishuâush *numeral quantifier* 'eight'

nishuâush-tâtunnû *numeral quantifier* 'eighty'

nîshuemîkuân *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two tablespoonfuls'

nîshuemîkuânîss *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two teaspoonfuls'

nîshuet *incorporated-noun quantifier (classificatory)* 'two sheet-like things'

nîshukuâpikâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two pailfuls'

nîshukuâpinikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two handfuls'

nîshuminâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two gallons'

nîshuminâshtâkana *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'two weeks'

nîshumishit *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two feet'

nîshumitâshumitannû *numeral quantifier* 'two hundred'

nîshumitshîtin *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two inches'

nîshunâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two cupfuls'

nîshunîpin *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'two summers'

nîshuniss *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two armlengths'

nîshunnû *numeral quantifier* 'twenty'

nîshupîshimua *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'two months'

nîshupuna *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'two years'

nîshussimuteush *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure word)* 'two bags, sackfuls'

nîshutâkunikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure word)* 'two armfuls'

nîshutat *incorporated-noun quantifier (nominal)* 'two pieces of useful wood'

nîshutipaikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'two hours, two o'clock'

nîshutipâpekaikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two pounds'

nîshutipâshkunikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two yards, two miles'

nîshutipishkaua *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'two nights'

nîshutshishemitâshumitannû *numeral quantifier* 'two thousand'

nîshutshîshikâua *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'two days'

nîtâ 1 *temporal adverb (frequency)* 'ever'; **2** *preverb* 'ever'

nîtâtshûnit *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at the foot of the rapids, downstream of the rapids, downstream'

nuâsh 1 *locative preposition* 'as far as, up to'; **2** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'until'

nûtim 1 *non-numeral quantifier* 'all, every, the entire'; **2** *degree adverb (maximizer)* 'entirely, completely'

nûtshimît *exclusively locative noun* 'inland, in the country' (*dim.* **nûtshimishîsh**)

P

pâ *preverb* 'should, would'

pâkuât *exclusively locative noun* 'on dry ground'

pâpeikutshîshikâua *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'once a day' (*redup. of* **peikutshîshikâua**)

pâpeik^{u} *numeral quantifier* 'one each' (*redup. of* **peik^{u}**)

papessîsh *spatial adverb* 'closer and closer, a short distance from each other' (*redup. of* **pessîsh**)

passe *non-numeral quantifier* 'some, a few'

passik^{u} *focus particle (restrictive)* 'only, nothing but'

patetât *numeral quantifier* 'five'

patetât-tâtunnû *numeral quantifier* 'fifty'

pâtush 1 *temporal adverb (relative time)* 'later'; **2** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'until, unless'

patute *locative preposition* 'to one side, offside, off to the side' (*dim.* **patuteshîsh**)

peikuait *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'in only one way'

peikuan 1 *adjective (particle)* 'same'; **2** *conjunctive adverb* 'likewise, all the same'; **3** *interjection (evaluative)* 'it amounts to the same thing'

peikuâpet *incorporated-noun quantifier (classificatory)* 'one string-like thing'

peikuâpiss *incorporated-noun quantifier (nominal)* 'one dollar'

peikuâshk^{u} *incorporated-noun quantifier (classificatory)* 'one stick-like thing'

peikuâtâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one barrel'

peikuâu *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'once'

peikuemîkuân *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one tablespoonful'

peikuemîkuânîss *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one teaspoonful'

peikuet *incorporated-noun quantifier (classificatory)* 'one sheet-like thing'

peikukuâpikâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one pailful'

peikukuâpinikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one handful'

peikuminâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one gallon'

peikuminâshtâkana *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'one week'

peikumishit *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one foot'

peikumitâshumitannû *numeral quantifier* 'one hundred'

peikumitshîtin *incorporated-noun quantifier* 'measure-word'

peikunâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one cupful'

peikunîpin *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'one summer'

peikuniss *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one armlength'

peikupîshimua *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'one month'

peikupuna *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'one year'

peikushteu *numereal quantifier* 'nine'

peikushteu-tâtunnû *numeral quantifier* 'ninety'

peikussimuteush *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one sackful, bagful'

peikutâkunikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one armful'

peikutat *incorporated-noun quantifier (nominal)* 'one piece of useful wood'

peikûtâu *adjective (particle)* 'same, self-same'

peikutipaikana *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one hour'

peikutipâpekaikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one pound'

peikutipâshkunikan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'a distance of one mile, one yard'

peikutipishkâua *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'one night'

peikutshishâkamiteshunâkan *incorporated-noun quantifier (measure-word)* 'one cupful'

peikutshishemitâshumitannû *numeral quantifier* 'one thousand'

peikutshîshikâua *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'one day'

peik^{u} *numeral quantifier* 'one'

pessîsh *locative preposition* 'close to, near'

pet **1** *spatial/temporal adverb* 'in this direction, to here, since that time'; **2** *preverb* 'in this direction, to here, since that time'

petute *interjection (imperative)* 'come here!'

pikass *manner adverb* 'clearly, distinctly'

pîmakâm *locative preposition* 'diagonally across (a space)' (*dim.* **pîmakâmishîsh**)

pîmakâmeshkanau *incorporated-noun preposition* 'across the road at an angle'

pîmikâmishîpû *incorporated-noun preposition* 'across the river at an angle'

pipunut *bare-NP adverb* 'last winter'

pishikuniss *manner adverb* 'empty-handed'

pîtakamît* *exclusively locative noun or locative preposition*[4] 'inside (a habitable space), indoors'

pitamâ *temporal adverb (absolute time)* 'now, for now'

pîtû *spatial adverb* 'superimposed in layers'

pûshk^{u} *non-numeral quantifier* 'half'

pûshû *interjection (routine)* 'hello, how do you do'

pût *modal adverb (epistemic)* 'perhaps, maybe'

[4]As discussed in Section 6.2.3, more data is needed in order to firmly determine whether *pîtakamît* is an exclusively locative noun or a locative preposition.

Sh

shâpûtue *locative preposition* 'directly through, through, straight ahead'

shâsh 1 *temporal adverb (aspectual)* 'already, anymore'; **2** *interjection (evaluative)* 'that's enough, that's all'

shâshîsh *temporal adverb (absolute time)* 'a long time ago' (*dim.* **shâshîshîsh**)

shassikut *manner adverb* 'suddenly, unexpectedly' (*dim.* **shassikutshîsh**)

shek^{u} *locative preposition* 'underneath, below'

sheshakân *degree adverb (approximator)* 'approximately, almost the same'

shetshen *modal adverb (volitional)* 'for nothing, for no reason, for free'

shîkuanut *bare-NP adverb* 'last spring'

shîpâ *locative preposition* 'underneath'

shîshtû* *locative preposition* 'in between'

shûk *interjection* 'go ahead'

shûk^{u} *degree adverb (booster)* 'very much'

T

tâkutâpiss *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on top of a hill or mountain'

tâkut *locative preposition* 'on top'

tâkutashkamît *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the plateau, on the height of land'

tâkutâuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'at the summit of a rise, on a height'

tâkutâut *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on top of a mountain, hill'

tân *manner adverb (interrogative)* 'how'

tân ishpish *fixed expression (interrogative)* 'when, how much, how many'

tânen *demonstrative (interrogative)* 'which, which one'

tânita *demonstrative (interrogative, locative case)* 'where exactly'

tânitât^{u} *non-numeral quantifier (interrogative)* 'how many'

tânitâtuâu *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial, interrogative)* 'how many times'

tânite 1 *demonstrative (interrogative, locative case)* 'where, where is it that'; **2** *conjunction (symmetrical coordinator)* 'because'; **3** *conjunctive adverb* 'besides, however'

tâpishkû *adjective (particle)* 'same, same kind'

tâpue *modal adverb (evidential)* 'truly, really, actually'

tashkam *locative preposition* 'through, across, from one side to the other'

tashtuaît *locative preposition* 'in between the two of them'

tâtipân *spatial/temporal adverb* 'separately'

tâtu *non-numeral quantifier* 'so much, so many, a certain number'

tâtuait *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'so many ways'

tâtuâu *incorporated-noun quantifier (adverbial)* 'so many times, every time'

tâtumitâshumitannu *numeral quantifier* 'so many hundreds'

tâtunnu *numeral quantifier* 'so many tens'

tâtutshishemitâshumitannu *numeral quantifier* 'so many thousands'

tâuîshkuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the back of the tent, opposite the door'

tâukamîsh *incorporated-noun preposition* 'out in the open'

tâushkamit *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the heart of the land (inland)'

tâutat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the middle of the floor, canoe'

tâutuât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the middle of flat land'

tetâuâtshûn *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the middle of the current'

tetâusset *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the middle of the swamp'

tetâut *locative preposition* 'in the middle, in half'

tetâutakâm *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the middle of the water'

tetâutauâshkum *incorporated-noun preposition* 'in the middle of the ice'

tipakâm *spatial adverb* 'facing from the other side, opposite'

tipâpaim^{u} tipân *spatial/temporal adverb* 'apart, separately'

tuâshkum *exclusively locative noun* 'out in the open on the ice' (*dim.* **tuâshkumîsh**)

tuiet* 1 *temporal adverb (absolute time)* 'right away'; **2** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'as soon as'

Tsh

tshek 1 *temporal adverb (relative time)* 'then, at that time'; **2** *manner adverb* 'suddenly'

tshekât *degree adverb (approximator)* 'almost'

tshek^{u} *adjective (particle, interrogative)* 'which, what sort'

tshekuân 1 *indefinite pronoun* 'something'; **2** *clefting word (interrogative)* 'what is it'

tshekuen 1 *indefinite pronoun* 'someone'; **2** *clefting word (interrogative)* 'who is it'

tsheshkâ *modal adverb (epistemic)* 'surely, certainly'

tsheshtû *modal adverb (evaluative)* 'just in time'

tshessinât *modal adverb (epistemic)* 'probably, surely'

tshetshî 1 *preverb* irrealis modality 'whether, so that' (*combination of preverbs* **tshe** [<**ka**] + **tshî**); **2** *conjunction (complementizer)* irrealis modality

'whether'; **3** *conjunction (adverbializer)* 'so that'

tshetshishep *temporal adverb (absolute-time)* 'this morning' (*clipped version of II conjunct form* **tshetshishepâushit**, *from II verb* **tshetshishepâushû** 'it is morning')

tshiâ *interjection (interrogative tag)* 'all right?, isn't that so?'

tshiâm *manner adverb* 'the right way, correctly, properly'

tshî 1 *preverb* ability, potentiality 'can, be able to'; **2** *preverb* perfective aspect (*changed form* **kâ**)

tshîkâpiss *incorporated-noun preposition* 'very close to a rock, a stone'

tshîkâshk^{u} *incorporated-noun preposition* 'close to a tree, a wall' (*dim.* **tshîkâshkushîsh**)

tshîkasset *incorporated-noun preposition* 'very close to the edge of a swamp'

tshîkatauât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'very close to elevated, higher land'

tshîmâ *conjunction (sentence-initial subordinator)* 'if only, let's hope that, I wish that (when wishing)'

tshîmut *manner adverb* 'secretly'

tshîn *personal pronoun (second-person singular)* 'you, your, yours'

tshînân(û) *personal pronoun (first-person plural inclusive)* 'we, us, our, ours (including you)'

tshînuâu *personal pronoun (second-person plural)* 'you (all), your, yours'

tshipishkuât *exclusively locative noun* 'at the entrance, doorway'

tshîshât *temporal adverb (absolute time)* 'right away, now, immediately'

tshîshkam *manner adverb* 'squarely, straightforwardly, suddenly'

tshishpeu *modal adverb (evaluative)* 'fortunately, unfortunately'

tshîtshikâm *incorporated-noun preposition* 'very close to shore'

tshîtshit *locative preposition* 'very near, close, on the edge'

tshîtshue *modal adverb (evidential)* 'for real, truly'

tshîtû *degree adverb (booster)* 'progressively'

U

uânasse *manner adverb* 'without difficulty, easily'

uâpâkî *II verb, conjunct form* 'tomorrow' (*lit.* 'when it is dawn,' *from II verb* **uâpan** 'it is dawn, daylight')

uâshkâ *locative preposition* 'all around, on the circumference, around, in the vicinity'

uemut *modal adverb (epistemic)* 'absolutely, must be, necessarily'

uenashk *manner adverb* 'immediately, quickly, in a hurry'

uenipissîsh *temporal adverb (durational)* 'a short time, a short while'

uesh* *conjunction (subcategory unknown)* 'because'

ueshâmîkât *non-numeral quantifier* 'too much'

ueshâushâm *interjection (emotive)* 'oh my goodness!'

ueshkat *exclusively locative noun* 'formerly, in the past'

uetshît *focus particle (restrictive)* 'on one's own, in person'

uiesh 1 *exclusively locative noun* 'somewhere'; **2** *degree adverb (approximator)* 'approximately, around'

uî *preverb* volitional modality 'want to, intend to, try to' (*changed form* **uâ**)

uîn 1 *personal pronoun (third-person singular)* 'he, him, his, she, her, hers, it, its'; **2** *focus particle (emphatic)*

uînuâu *personal pronoun (third-person plural)* 'they, them, their, theirs'

uîpat 1 *temporal adverb (absolute time)* 'soon'; **2** *temporal adverb (relative time)* 'early' (*dim.* **uîpatshîsh**)

ume *demonstrative (proximal)* 'this'

unuîtamît* *exclusively locative noun or locative preposition*[5] 'outside, outdoors'

upimeshîsh *locative preposition* 'on the side, beside'

upimeshtikuân *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the side of the head'

upimetat *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the side of the house'

ushâm* *classification unknown* 'because, at all costs'

ushkat *adjective (particle)* 'first'

usht *modal adverb (volitional)* 'purposely, as a joke'

ushte 1 *locative preposition* 'beyond' (*dim.* **ushteshîsh**); **2** *interjection (imperative)* 'stop that, get out of the way'

ushtuîn *modal adverb (epistemic)* 'in all likelihood, maybe, likely, certainly'

ussit *locative preposition* 'on the surface, on the top'

ussitâkunât *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the surface of the snow'

ussitipet *incorporated-noun preposition* 'on the surface of the water'

ût 1 *preverb* ablative 'from, because' (*changed form* **uet**); **2** *locative preposition* 'from'

uta *demonstrative (proximal, locative case)* 'right here, right at/to this'

utâkushît *II verb, conjunct form* 'yesterday'

utât *locative preposition* 'behind'

ute *demonstrative (proximal, locative case)* 'here, at/to this'

uteshîsh *demonstrative (locative case)* 'right here'

utin *conjunctive adverb* 'in that case, therefore, then'

[5]As discussed in Section 6.2.3, more data is needed in order to firmly determine whether *unuîtamît* is an exclusively locative noun or a locative preposition.